

Grzech, Karolina Zofia (2017) Discourse enclitics in Tena Kichwa : a corpus-based account of information structure and epistemic meaning. PhD Thesis. SOAS, University of London.

<http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/id/eprint/24336>

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this PhD Thesis are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners.

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.

This PhD Thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s.

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

When referring to this PhD Thesis, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the PhD Thesis must be given e.g. AUTHOR (year of submission) "Full PhD Thesis title", name of the School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

**Discourse enclitics in Tena Kichwa:  
A corpus-based account of  
information structure and epistemic  
meaning**

KAROLINA ZOFIA GRZECH

Thesis submitted for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

June 2016

Department of Linguistics  
School of Oriental and African Studies  
University of London

### **Declaration**

I have read and understood regulation 17.9 of the Regulations for students of the SOAS, University of London concerning plagiarism. I undertake that all the material presented for examination is my own work and has not been written for me, in whole or in part, by any other person. I also undertake that any quotation or paraphrase from the published or unpublished work of another person has been duly acknowledged in the work which I present for examination.

Signed: Kardin Erach

24/03/2017  
Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## Abstract

This thesis explores the meaning and functions of discourse enclitics in Tena Kichwa, a Quechuan language spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon. The enclitics in question are non-obligatory, word-final markers, attaching to hosts from all grammatical categories. Their meanings range from marking information structural categories to encoding the epistemic authority held by the speaker and the addressee. The thesis focuses on the semantics of the markers and their role in structuring TK discourse.

In the first two chapters, I introduce the context of this study and provide a sketch of the grammar of Tena Kichwa. Subsequently, I describe the morphosyntactic properties of all Tena Kichwa enclitics and analyse their subset as a paradigm of ‘discourse’ enclitics. Consequently, I discuss the role of discourse enclitics in marking information structure, focusing on the markers which indicate change of topic and contrastive, interrogative and verum foci. Subsequently, I describe the epistemic semantics of the enclitics *=mi* and *=cha*, previously analysed as evidentials (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002). I show that in Tena Kichwa, they are better analysed as markers related to epistemic authority. In the final chapters, I discuss the relationship between the information structural and epistemic meaning of the markers, showing that the enclitics form a notionally coherent morphosyntactic system, the core function of which is providing a structure for discourse by managing common ground. I also show that the non-obligatoriness of the markers can be at least partially accounted for if the notion of speaker and hearer expectation is taken into account.

The analysis presented in the thesis is based on a corpus of thirteen hours of naturalistic discourse data, complemented by elicitation and stimuli-based tasks. This documentary corpus of Tena Kichwa has been deposited in the ELAR Archive, and will also be deposited in the Archive of Languages and Cultures of Ecuador.

## Acknowledgements

The research presented in this thesis was funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (grant IGS00166). Additional funding was also received from Frederick Soddy Trust/Royal Geographical Society.

First and foremost, I would like to thank everyone in Nuevo Paraíso for welcoming me to their community. I am particularly grateful to the family of Don Pedro Chimbo. I would like to thank Lidia Chimbo for being such a generous host. Thank you to her sisters, Miriam and Saida, and their families, for accepting me as part of the family, and to my dear friend Yolanda Chimbo for always looking out for me. I am grateful to everyone who contributed to the documentation project, and to my friends and co-workers Nilo Andi, Wilma Aguinda and Jacobo Chimbo, as well as to everyone else who has worked with us on creating the corpus. I would also like to thank Patty Bermúdez for her support, both academic and personal, and for making my introductions in Nuevo Paraíso.

Thank you to my supervisor, Irina Nikolaeva, for all her patience, advice and support. This work would have been very different without your insightful comments and questions that made me go an extra mile.

This thesis would not have been the same, and might not have been at all, if it wasn't for the generosity and support of Connie Dickinson. Thank you for hosting me at yours for months on end, and for the conversations that helped me clarify so many aspects of my thinking about evidentiality and fieldwork. And for the great coffee when I most needed it. I would also like to thank Mandana Seyfeddinipur for her advice on grant-writing, and for introducing me to the right people at the right time.

My experience of being a PhD student was shaped not only by the academic work, but also by the friends I was lucky to make, in particular Ebany Dohle, Mike Franjeh, Sam Goodchild, and Teresa Poeta. Sandy Ritchie and Connor Youngberg. This has been a great adventure to share with you all! I would also

like to thank Candide Simard and Olly Bond for their guidance, support and inspiring conversations, not only about linguistics.

Also, to Sandile. Thank you for all the walking and talking we've done, and for always reminding me to stay focused on the questions that mattered.

Finally, I'd like to thank my Mum and Dad for always being extremely supportive. It mattered to me more than you'll know.

Last but not least; Pablo, thank you for always being there for me, no matter how far apart we were.

## Table of Contents

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| <b>ABSTRACT .....</b>   | <b>3</b>  |
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>   | <b>4</b>  |
| <b>TABLE OF CONTENTS .....</b>  | <b>6</b>  |
| <b>TABLE OF FIGURES .....</b>   | <b>11</b> |
| <b>TABLE OF IMAGES .....</b>  | <b>11</b> |
| <b>TABLE OF TABLES .....</b>  | <b>12</b> |
| <b>ABBREVIATIONS .....</b>  | <b>13</b> |
| <b>CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>  | <b>16</b> |
| 1.1 THE QUECHUAN LANGUAGE FAMILY .....                                    | 16        |
| 1.1.1 Subdivision of the Quechuan language family .....                   | 16        |
| 1.1.2 Lowland Ecuadorian Kichwa – variation and typological interest..... | 18        |
| 1.2 THE NAPO RUNA .....   | 21        |
| 1.2.1 Social organisation of the Napo Runa.....                           | 21        |
| 1.2.2 Current sociolinguistic situation of Tena Kichwa.....               | 22        |
| 1.3 RESEARCH.....   | 25        |
| 1.3.1 Selection of Quechuan literature .....                              | 26        |
| 1.3.2 Definitions.....  | 27        |
| 1.3.3 Research questions .....  | 28        |
| 1.3.4 Fieldwork and data.....   | 31        |
| 1.3.4.1 The host community.....   | 31        |
| 1.3.4.2 The data .....  | 33        |
| 1.3.5 Research methodology .....  | 37        |
| <b>CHAPTER 2 GRAMMAR SKETCH.....</b>                                      | <b>38</b> |
| 2.1 PHONOLOGY .....   | 38        |
| 2.1.1 Phonemic inventory.....   | 38        |
| 2.1.1.1 Consonants.....   | 38        |
| 2.1.1.2 Vowels.....   | 41        |
| 2.1.2 Suprasegmental phonology .....                                      | 42        |
| 2.1.2.1 Syllable structure.....   | 42        |
| 2.1.2.2 Stress .....  | 44        |
| 2.2 MORPHOLOGY OF MAJOR WORD CLASSES.....                                 | 45        |

|         |   |     |
|---------|---|-----|
| 2.2.1   | Verbs .....                                     | 47  |
| 2.2.2   | Nominals.....                                   | 47  |
| 2.2.2.1 | Nouns.....                                      | 50  |
| 2.2.2.2 | Adjectives.....                                 | 50  |
| 2.2.2.3 | Minor nominal word classes.....                 | 51  |
| 2.2.3   | Minor non-nominal word classes.....             | 53  |
| 2.2.3.1 | Adverbs.....                                    | 53  |
| 2.2.3.2 | Particles .....                                 | 54  |
| 2.3     | NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY .....                        | 54  |
| 2.3.1   | Derivation.....                                 | 56  |
| 2.3.1.1 | Verbaliser -ya-.....                            | 56  |
| 2.3.1.2 | Diminutive and augmentative suffixes .....      | 56  |
| 2.3.1.3 | Proprietary suffix -yuk.....                    | 57  |
| 2.3.2   | Inflection.....                                 | 58  |
| 2.3.2.1 | Number.....                                     | 58  |
| 2.3.2.2 | Case .....                                      | 59  |
| 2.3.2.3 | Inherent inflectional affixes .....             | 61  |
| 2.4     | VERBAL MORPHOLOGY .....                         | 70  |
| 2.4.1   | Derivation.....                                 | 71  |
| 2.4.1.1 | Valence adjustment .....                        | 71  |
| 2.4.1.2 | Aktionsart-affecting derivation .....           | 74  |
| 2.4.1.3 | Lexical nominalisation.....                     | 76  |
| 2.4.2   | Inflection.....                                 | 79  |
| 2.4.2.1 | Agreement.....                                  | 79  |
| 2.4.2.2 | Tense.....                                      | 84  |
| 2.4.2.3 | Aspect.....                                     | 93  |
| 2.4.2.4 | Mood .....                                      | 95  |
| 2.5     | CONSTITUENT ORDER AND BASIC CLAUSAL SYNTAX..... | 97  |
| 2.5.1   | Grammatical relations in TK.....                | 98  |
| 2.5.1.1 | Subjects.....                                   | 98  |
| 2.5.1.2 | Objects.....                                    | 102 |
| 2.5.1.3 | Oblique grammatical relations.....              | 104 |
| 2.5.2   | Basic clausal syntax.....                       | 105 |
| 2.5.2.1 | Word order in main clauses .....                | 106 |
| 2.5.2.2 | Properties of NPs.....                          | 108 |
| 2.5.2.3 | Properties of VPs .....                         | 110 |



|         |                                      |     |
|---------|--------------------------------------|-----|
| 2.5.3   | Syntax of complex constructions..... | 113 |
| 2.5.3.1 | Coordination.....                    | 114 |
| 2.5.3.2 | Subordination .....                  | 114 |

### **CHAPTER 3 MORPHOSYNTAX AND BASIC SEMANTICS OF FREE ENCLITICS:**

#### **DELIMITING THE CLASS OF TK DISCOURSE MARKERS..... 131**

|          |  |     |
|----------|--|-----|
| 3.1      | DISCOURSE MARKERS IN TK: TOWARDS A DEFINITION .....                      | 131 |
| 3.2      | TK DISCOURSE ENCLITICS: BASIS FOR ANALYSIS.....                          | 135 |
| 3.2.1    | Defining the cross-linguistic properties of clitics .....                | 135 |
| 3.2.2    | Properties of discourse enclitics in TK.....                             | 139 |
| 3.3      | INVENTORY AND DISTRIBUTION OF TK ENCLITICS.....                          | 140 |
| 3.3.1    | Inventory of TK enclitics.....   | 140 |
| 3.3.2    | Morphosyntactic properties of TK enclitics.....                          | 143 |
| 3.3.2.1  | =ga.....   | 144 |
| 3.3.2.2  | =mi.....   | 153 |
| 3.3.2.3  | =ma.....   | 159 |
| 3.3.2.4  | =mari.....   | 163 |
| 3.3.2.5  | =tá.....   | 166 |
| 3.3.2.6  | =chu.....  | 172 |
| 3.3.2.7  | =cha.....  | 177 |
| 3.3.2.8  | =chari.....  | 182 |
| 3.3.2.9  | =ta.....   | 186 |
| 3.3.2.10 | =y.....  | 191 |
| 3.3.2.11 | =lla.....  | 196 |
| 3.3.2.12 | =llara.....  | 202 |
| 3.3.2.13 | =pas.....  | 208 |
| 3.3.2.14 | =guti.....   | 214 |
| 3.3.2.15 | =ri.....   | 218 |
| 3.3.2.16 | Morphosyntactic properties of clitics: a summary .....                   | 225 |
| 3.4      | TK DISCOURSE ENCLITICS: DEFINING CLASS MEMBERSHIP .....                  | 226 |
| 3.4.1    | A: Promiscuous attachment/ low host selectivity.....                     | 226 |
| 3.4.2    | B: Phonological and prosodic dependency on the host.....                 | 228 |
| 3.4.3    | Little morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasy.....                 | 230 |
| 3.4.4    | Being subject to few co-occurrence restrictions.....                     | 231 |
| 3.4.5    | Position at the right edge of the word, in rigidly ordered clusters .... | 232 |
| 3.4.6    | Expressing discourse-related meanings.....                               | 233 |

|   |  |     |
|---|--|-----|
| 3.4.7   | Summary: TK class of discourse enclitics .....                             | 235 |
| <b>CHAPTER 4 DISCOURSE MARKERS AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE IN TENA KICHWA.....237</b>       |  |     |
| 4.1   | DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGY .....  | 237 |
| 4.1.1   | Definitions.....   | 237 |
| 4.1.2   | Methodology of studying TK information structure.....                      | 246 |
| 4.1.2.1   | Tools adopted in the current study.....                                    | 246 |
| 4.1.2.2   | Methodological issues in fieldwork-based research of IS.....               | 249 |
| 4.2   | PREVIOUS STUDIES OF QUECHUA INFORMATION STRUCTURE .....                    | 251 |
| 4.3   | SYNTACTIC MEANS OF EXPRESSING IS CATEGORIES IN TK.....                     | 256 |
| 4.4   | DISCOURSE MARKER =GA AND TOPICALITY .....                                  | 261 |
| 4.5   | DISCOURSE MARKERS AND FOCUS .....  | 274 |
| 4.5.1   | =mi and the marking of focus.....  | 274 |
| 4.5.2   | Verum focus and the marker =tá.....  | 283 |
| 4.5.3   | Focus, polar questions, and negation: the enclitic =chu .....              | 290 |
| 4.5.4   | Focus, polar question and doubt: =cha and =chari .....                     | 295 |
| 4.5.5   | Focus in content questions: =ta.....                                       | 299 |
| 4.6   | DISCOURSE MARKERS AND IS IN TK: A SUMMARY.....                             | 300 |
| <b>CHAPTER 5 THE TK ‘EVIDENTIAL’ ENCLITICS AS MARKERS OF EPISTEMIC AUTHORITY..... 303</b> |  |     |
| 5.1   | EVIDENTIALITY AND RELATED CATEGORIES IN CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE ..... | 303 |
| 5.1.1   | Evidentiality and related categories .....                                 | 303 |
| 5.1.2   | Epistemic meaning and the dimensions of knowledge .....                    | 311 |
| 5.1.3   | Semantic distinctions within the evidential domain.....                    | 315 |
| 5.2   | EVIDENTIALITY IN QUECHUAN LANGUAGES .....                                  | 318 |
| 5.2.1   | The Quechuan evidential paradigm .....                                     | 319 |
| 5.2.2   | Previous analyses of Quechua evidential semantics .....                    | 321 |
| 5.2.2.1   | Previous analyses: =mi.....  | 323 |
| 5.2.2.2   | Previous analyses: =cha.....   | 329 |
| 5.3   | SEMANTICS OF THE ‘EVIDENTIAL’ MARKERS IN TENA KICHWA .....                 | 332 |
| 5.3.1   | Evidential hierarchies and the TK ‘evidential’ markers.....                | 332 |
| 5.3.2   | Clause types in TK and related notions.....                                | 337 |
| 5.3.3   | The semantics of =mi: claiming epistemic authority .....                   | 340 |
| 5.3.3.1   | =mi and the proposition expressed .....                                    | 341 |
| 5.3.3.2   | =mi in declarative clauses.....  | 347 |

|  |  |            |
|--|--|------------|
| 5.3.3.3  | =mi in interrogative clauses.....  | 354        |
| 5.3.3.4  | =mi in embedded clauses.....   | 356        |
| 5.3.3.5  | The semantics of =mi: a summary.....   | 364        |
| 5.3.4  | The semantics of =cha: renouncing epistemic primacy.....                                     | 365        |
| 5.3.4.1  | =cha and the proposition expressed.....  | 365        |
| 5.3.4.2  | =cha in declarative clauses.....   | 367        |
| 5.3.4.3  | =cha in interrogative clauses.....   | 369        |
| 5.3.4.4  | The semantics of =cha: a summary.....  | 375        |
| 5.3.5  | The TK epistemic primacy markers and the levels of meaning.....                              | 376        |
| 5.4  | THE SEMANTICS OF OTHER DISCOURSE ENCLITICS.....  | 379        |
| 5.4.1  | Possible interpretation of =ma.....  | 379        |
| 5.4.2  | Possible interpretations of =mari and =chari.....  | 381        |
| 5.5  | SUMMARY: EPISTEMIC AUTHORITY MARKING IN TK.....  | 383        |
| <b>CHAPTER 6 COMMON GROUND MANAGEMENT: A SHARED TASK OF<br/>INFORMATION STRUCTURE AND EPISTEMIC MARKING.....</b> |  | <b>385</b> |
| 6.1  | ACCOUNTING FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF DISCOURSE ENCLITICS: THE RELEVANCE OF<br>EXPECTATION..... | 386        |
| 6.2  | CG MANAGEMENT: EPISTEMIC PERSPECTIVE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE.....                          | 395        |
| 6.3  | FROM EVIDENTIALS TO EPISTEMIC PRIMACY MARKERS: A CASE STUDY OF<br>INTERSUBJECTIFICATION..... | 398        |
| 6.4  | TYPOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: CG MANAGEMENT AND THE EPISTEMIC PERSPECTIVE<br>DOMAIN.....         | 403        |
| 6.5  | SUMMARY: TK DISCOURSE ENCLITICS AND CG MANAGEMENT.....                                       | 408        |
| <b>CHAPTER 7 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.....</b>  |  | <b>409</b> |
| 7.1  | SUMMARY OF THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.....  | 409        |
| 7.2  | CONCLUSIONS.....   | 411        |
| 7.3  | CONTRIBUTION.....  | 415        |
| 7.4  | AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH.....   | 417        |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>   |  | <b>420</b> |
| <b>APPENDIX 1 TK CONVERSATION (EL_25092014_01).....</b>  |  | <b>435</b> |

## Table of Figures

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1.1 Internal subdivision of the Quechuan language family .....       | 17  |
| Figure 1.2 Quechuan varieties spoken in Ecuador .....                       | 19  |
| Figure 2.1 Ordering of TK nominal affixes .....                             | 54  |
| Figure 2.2 Ordering of TK verbal affixes.....                               | 70  |
| Figure 3.1 Criteria for distinguishing clitics and affixes.....             | 135 |
| Figure 3.3 Properties of clitics.....                                       | 137 |
| Figure 3.4 Properties of TK discourse enclitics .....                       | 139 |
| Figure 3.5 Inventory of TK markers exhibiting low host selectivity .....    | 141 |
| Figure 3.6 Properties of TK discourse enclitics .....                       | 226 |
| Figure 4.1 Cognitive states of identifiability and activation .....         | 239 |
| Figure 5.1 Dimensions of knowledge.....                                     | 311 |
| Figure 5.2 Dimensions of the ‘epistemic perspective’ domain .....           | 314 |
| Figure 5.3 Evidence clines .....  | 318 |
| Figure 5.4 Quechuan evidential paradigm (based on Cuzco Quechua, QII) ..... | 320 |
| Figure 6.1 Types of expectation and specification.....                      | 390 |
| Figure 6.2 Epistemic perspective domain including CG management.....        | 404 |

## Table of Images

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Image 4.1 Adapted stimulus from QUIS task 18 (‘Who does what’) ..... | 264 |
| Image 4.2 Adapted stimulus 1 from QUIS Task 1 (‘Changes’) .....      | 268 |
| Image 4.3 Adapted stimulus 2 from QUIS Task 1 (‘Changes’) .....      | 268 |

## Table of Tables

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Table 1.1 TK documentary corpus .....   | 36  |
| Table 2.1 TK consonantal phonemes .....   | 39  |
| Table 2.2 Orthographic representation of TK consonants.....                     | 41  |
| Table 2.3 TK vowels in stresses and unstressed positions .....                  | 41  |
| Table 2.4 TK subject agreement paradigm.....                                    | 83  |
| Table 2.5 TK imperative inflection.....   | 97  |
| Table 3.1 Occurrence of discourse markers in the elicited discourse corpus .... | 143 |
| Table 3.2 Distribution of = <i>ga</i> with different types of hosts .....       | 144 |
| Table 3.3 Distribution of = <i>mi</i> with different types of hosts .....       | 154 |
| Table 3.4 Distribution of = <i>ma</i> with different types of hosts .....       | 160 |
| Table 3.5 Distribution of = <i>mari</i> with different types of hosts .....     | 164 |
| Table 3.6 Distribution of = <i>tá</i> with different types of hosts .....       | 167 |
| Table 3.7 Distribution of = <i>chu</i> with different types of hosts .....      | 172 |
| Table 3.8 Distribution of = <i>cha</i> with different types of hosts .....      | 178 |
| Table 3.9 Distribution of = <i>chari</i> with different types of hosts.....     | 183 |
| Table 3.10 Distribution of = <i>ta</i> with different types of hosts.....       | 187 |
| Table 3.11 Distribution of = <i>y</i> with different types of hosts .....       | 191 |
| Table 3.12 Distribution of = <i>lla</i> with different types of hosts .....     | 197 |
| Table 3.13 Distribution of = <i>llara</i> with different types of hosts .....   | 203 |
| Table 3.14 Distribution of = <i>pas</i> with different types of hosts .....     | 208 |
| Table 3.15 Distribution of = <i>guti</i> with different types of hosts .....    | 215 |
| Table 3.16 Distribution of = <i>ri</i> with different types of hosts .....      | 219 |
| Table 3.17 Distribution of TK enclitics with different types of hosts .....     | 227 |
| Table 3.18 Ordering of TK enclitics.....  | 232 |
| Table 3.19 Properties of TK enclitics .....                                     | 235 |
| Table 4.1 QUIS data: = <i>ga</i> on clause-external topical expressions .....   | 267 |
| Table 5.1 Taxonomy of sources of evidence.....                                  | 316 |
| Table 7.1 The paradigm of TK CG management clitics.....                         | 412 |

## Abbreviations

|        |                        |        |                     |
|--------|------------------------|--------|---------------------|
| 1      | first person           | DEM    | demonstrative       |
| 2      | second person          | DIM    | diminutive          |
| 12     | first person inclusive | DIR    | direct              |
| 3      | third person           | DUB    | dubitative          |
| Á      | lexical stress shift   | EMPH   | emphatic            |
| ABL    | ablative               | EPEN   | epenthetic          |
| ACC    | accusative             | EV     | evidential          |
| ADD    | additive               | EXCL   | exclamative         |
| ADJ    | adjective              | FOC    | focus               |
| ADJR   | adjectiviser           | FUT    | future              |
| ADV    | adverb                 | GEN    | genitive            |
| AG     | agentive               | HORT   | hortative           |
| ANT    | anterior               | IDEO   | ideophone           |
| ANTIC  | anticausative          | ID.REF | identical reference |
| ASP    | aspect                 | IMP    | imperative          |
| AUG    | augmentative           | INCL   | inclusive           |
| AUX    | auxiliary              | INDIR  | indirect            |
| CAUS   | causative              | INF    | infinitive          |
| CAUSAL | causalis               | INSTR  | instrumental        |
| CIS    | cislocative            | INT    | interrogative       |
| CNGR   | congruent              | INTEN  | intensifier         |
| COMP   | comparative            | INTER  | interjection        |
| CON    | concessive             | LAT    | lative              |
| COND   | conditional            | LIM    | limitative          |
| CONJ   | conjunctural           | LOC    | locative            |
| CONT   | continuative           | MASC   | masculine           |
| COP    | copula                 | MIR    | mirative            |
| COR    | co-reference           | N      | noun                |
| COV    | coverb                 | NAME   | proper name         |
| D      | distal                 | NCNGR  | noncongruent        |
| DAT    | dative                 | NEG    | negative/negation   |
| DECL   | declarative            | NMLZ   | nominaliser         |

|       |                  |
|-------|------------------|
| OBJ   | object           |
| OBL   | oblique          |
| P     | proximal         |
| PL    | plural           |
| POSS  | possessive       |
| PRO   | pronoun          |
| PROG  | progressive      |
| PROH  | prohibitive      |
| PROP  | propriative      |
| PRT   | participle       |
| PST   | past             |
| PURP  | purpose          |
| Q     | question         |
| REF   | reflexive        |
| REP   | reportative      |
| RES   | result           |
| SEMBL | semblative       |
| SG    | singular         |
| SUBJ  | subject          |
| SWREF | switch-reference |
| TOP   | topic            |
| V     | verb             |
| VLZ   | verbaliser       |

## **Note on conventions**

In Ecuador, Quechua speakers call themselves ‘Quichua’, to underline the fact that Quechuan languages have a three-, rather than five-way vowel distinction, as originally described by Spanish missionaries. In the official orthography used for Ecuadorian varieties, the language name is written Kichwa. I decided to use this orthography for the language name, as it is the one used by the language community I work with. However, when quoting work of other authors, I retain their choices of orthography for language names, and I use the previous, hispanicised orthography to refer to the name of the language family: Quechuan.

The sources quoted in this paper use a variety of glossing conventions. When citing work of other authors and unless stated otherwise, I use the glosses, translation and Quechua orthography used in the original. I gloss all the Quechua discourse markers as clitics, irrespective of the convention used in the source literature.

The orthography used in Tena Kichwa examples is based on the Unified Kichwa orthography, which is the official writing system for Kichwa in Ecuador, but is adapted slightly to reflect the phonemic distinctions present in Tena Kichwa, but absent from Unified Kichwa.

Since in Tena Kichwa the nominative case and present tense are zero-marked, they are not glossed in the examples given in the thesis. The same obtains for zero-marked 3SUBJ verb agreement. Markers combining person and number features are only glossed for number in the plural.

The sources of data are always indicated below the examples. When a recording exists, it is referenced. In the absence of a recording, the examples are glossed ‘attested’ if they occurred in natural discourse and ‘elicited’ if they occurred in an elicitation session which was not recorded. In this thesis I provide examples in two formats: one with and one without orthographic transcription. In cases where orthographic transcription is provided it is for clarity, where the orthography does not reflect the underlying shapes of morphemes, or when morphemic breaks do not align with boundaries of phonological words.



## Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is an exploratory study of discourse enclitics in Tena Kichwa, a Quechuan language spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Over the course of this work, I define and identify the Tena Kichwa discourse enclitics, describe their morphosyntactic properties, the role they play in the information structure of the language, and finally – their use in discourse.

The objective of this introductory chapter is to provide the reader with the necessary background information, both on the language and its speakers, and on the research questions and methods underpinning this study. To this end, I firstly introduce the Quechuan language family and its internal subdivision. Secondly, I briefly outline the current sociolinguistic situation of the speakers of Tena Kichwa, the *Napo Runa*.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, I focus on the research presented in this thesis, introducing my research questions and the methodology of data collection and analysis.

### 1.1 The Quechuan language family

This section situates Tena Kichwa in the context of the Quechuan language family. Firstly, I describe the internal subgrouping of Quechuan languages (1.1.1). Secondly, I focus on the varieties spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon and their typological interest (1.1.2).

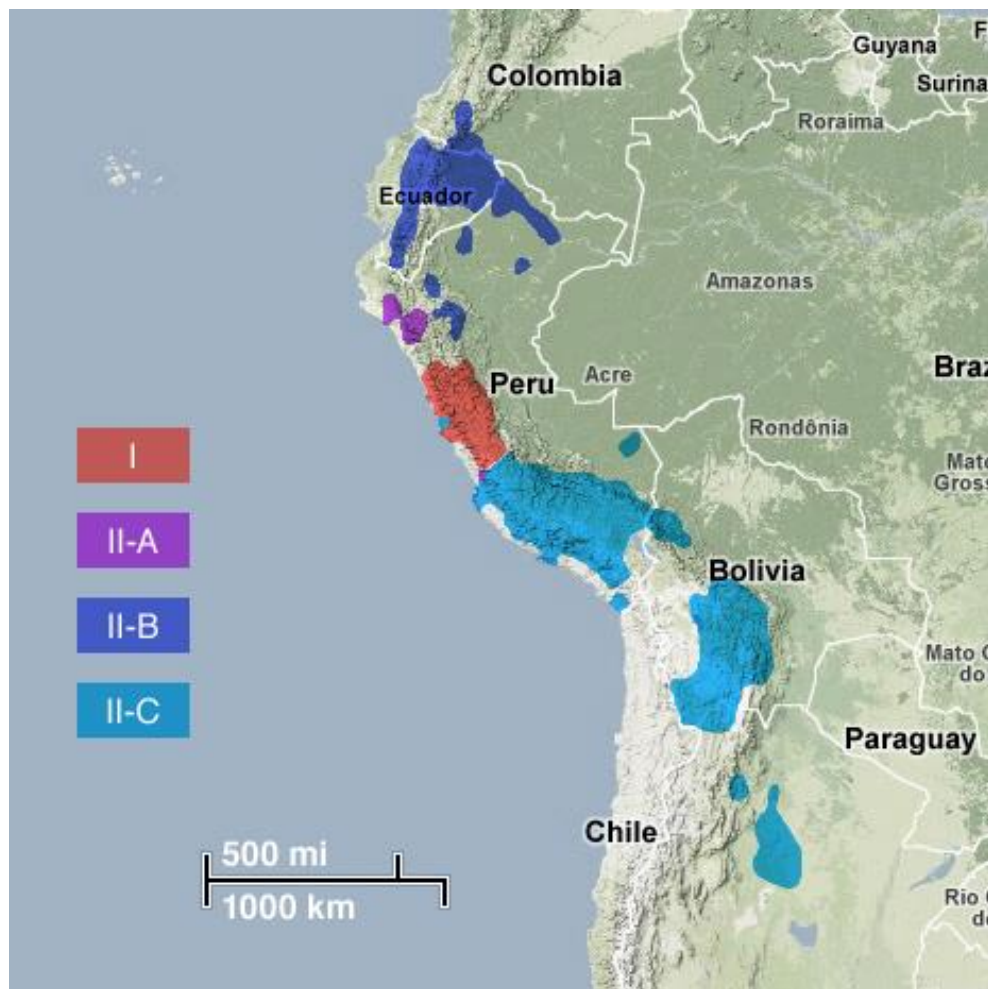
#### 1.1.1 Subdivision of the Quechuan language family

Quechuan languages are in use along the Andes, from northern Chile and Argentina in the south to southern Colombia in the north, spread over a distance of about 3500 kilometres (see Figure 1.1). The less closely related varieties might be mutually unintelligible, and the overall number of Quechuan dialects is still only approximately known (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 168).

---

<sup>1</sup> Tena Kichwa for ‘the people of Napo’.

**Figure 1.1 Internal subdivision of the Quechuan language family<sup>2</sup>**



The first classifications of Quechuan languages were put forward by Parker (1963) and Torero (1964). Both authors divided the language family into two groups. Quechua B (Parker 1963) or Quechua I (Torero 1964) encompasses the varieties spoken in the highlands of central Peru, considered to be ‘the homeland of Proto-Quechua’ (cf. Adelaar & Muysken 2004:180–1; Mannheim 1991: 9-12). Quechua A (Parker 1963) or Quechua II (Torero 1964) includes all the remaining varieties. Torero (1964) proposed a further division of QII into Quechua IIA, IIB and IIC. The Lowland/Amazonian varieties spoken in Ecuador, Colombia and Peru, including Tena Kichwa, all belong to the Quechua IIB branch. In this thesis, I use the terminology proposed by Torero (1964).

<sup>2</sup> The graphic was created by Tamas Leisz, based on <http://peruanista.blogspot.co.uk/2008/07/la-nacionalidad-quechua-en-el-mundo.html> (accessed on 12/01/2012).

Although numerous distinctions between QI and QII varieties exist on different levels of the grammar (see Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 183-237 for an overview), the most clear-cut distinction between QI and QII is morphological. Notably, QI and QII use different strategies to mark first person possessors and subjects. In QI, first person subject/possession is marked on both nouns and verbs by vowel lengthening, as in *waska-*: ('my rope'), *wata-*: ('I tie (it)'). QII uses dedicated suffixes *-y* and *-ni*, as in *waska-y* ('my rope'), *wata-ni* ('I tie') (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 189).

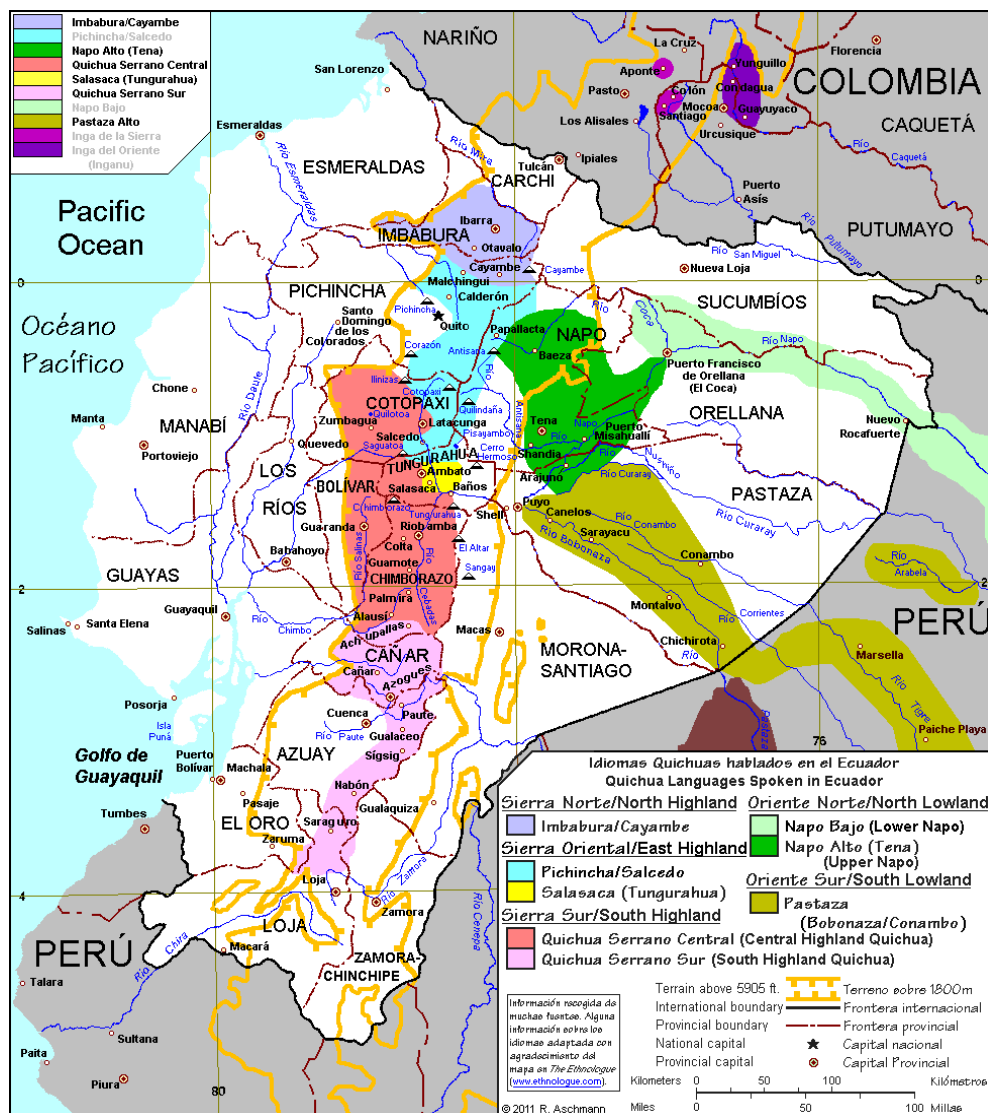
Since Quechuan languages are spoken predominantly in the Andean highlands, Quechua is generally regarded as an index of indigenous, Andean identity (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 180-3). This assumption is reflected in much greater political visibility of, and scientific interest in, Highland Quechua varieties, as compared to those spoken in the Lowlands. The next section discusses the Lowland varieties in more detail, focusing on those spoken in Ecuador.

### **1.1.2 Lowland Ecuadorian Kichwa – variation and typological interest**

The geographic spread of Lowland Quechua is limited in comparison to Highland varieties: they are only spoken in Ecuador, Peru and Colombia. Uzendoski and Whitten Jr. (2014: 1) claim that there are about 150,000 speakers of Amazonian Kichwa varieties in Ecuador.

The three main Kichwa dialects of the Ecuadorian Lowlands are: Bobonaza, spoken along the Puyo and Bobonaza rivers; Tena along the upper Napo river; and Limoncocha along the Lower Napo (Orr & Wrisley 1965). Lewis (2015) proposes different labels for the three varieties: Northern Pastaza (ISO 639-3: qvz), Tena Lowland (quw) and Napo Lowland (qvo), respectively. The Bombonaza/Northern Pastaza dialect is also referred to as 'Pastaza' (e.g. Nuckolls 2012), or as 'Canelos Kichwa' (cf. Muratorio 1998). The geographical spread of these varieties is shown in Figure 1.2:

Figure 1.2 Quechuan varieties spoken in Ecuador



Aschmann (2007)

The variety with which this thesis is concerned is Upper Napo, or Tena Kichwa, spoken mostly in the Tena canton of the Napo Province. Speakers use the two language names, ‘Upper Napo’ and ‘Tena’, interchangeably. In this thesis, I consistently use the label Tena Kichwa (henceforth TK). According to different estimates, TK is spoken by between 20,000 (Lewis 2015) to 40,000 (Moseley 2010) people.

To my knowledge, there are no studies of the extent of linguistic variation between the different Amazonian dialects. However, the labels discussed above do correspond to the speakers’ perceptions of linguistic variation. While all the Ecuadorian

Amazonian Kichwa varieties are mutually intelligible, my consultants perceive themselves as speaking differently from the speakers of Pastaza and Lower Napo dialects. They also notice differences between themselves and Kichwa speakers from the neighbouring canton of Archidona (cf. Muratorio 1998: 71). Within the canton of Tena, variation is perceived between urban centres and rural communities scattered along the Napo River.

Lowland Ecuadorian Kichwa varieties are said to be particularly interesting from the typological perspective (Muysken 2000). They differ significantly in terms of phonology, morphology and lexicon from both the Highland varieties, and from the related Lowland varieties spoken in Peru. It is in Ecuador that Quechuan languages are most diverse, due to widespread and prolonged contact with other indigenous languages (Parker 1963). In Ecuador, speakers of the different varieties of Amazonian Kichwa have been in contact with many more indigenous communities than the Highland Quechua speakers. These communities include speakers of Shuar and Achuar (Jivaroan), Tsafiki (Barbacoan), Cófán (Chibchan), Siona-Secoya (Tucanoan), Wao-Tededo (isolate) and, in previous centuries, also speakers of Tupi-Guarani languages such as Omagua (cf. Reeve 2014). Such extensive contact is partly due to the pre-colonial population dynamics along the Napo and Pastaza rivers, and partly to the presence of Christian missions in the region since the early 17<sup>th</sup> century (Muratorio 1998: chap. 5; Reeve 2014). While Lowland Kichwa vocabulary related to domestic and social activities is similar to that of Highland Kichwa, terms referring to jungle animals and plants are mostly of non-Quechua origin (Muysken 2000: 975). Also, ideophones, commonly present in the languages of the north-western Amazon are much more abundant and widely used in Lowland Kichwa than in the Highland varieties (Connie Dickinson, p.c.; Simeon Floyd, p.c.; Nuckolls 1993). Morphosyntactic influence on Kichwa from Wao Tededo and Barbacoan and Jivaroan languages has been suggested in the recent literature (Muysken 2011; Dickinson & Muysken, forthcoming). Mutual influence between Amazonian Kichwa and the languages mentioned above manifests itself not only in the lexicon, but also in certain cultural traits; the mythology of the Amazonian Kichwa peoples bears resemblances to the myths of the cultures with whom they are, or were, in contact.

Nowadays, Spanish is the biggest contact language not only for Amazonian Kichwa varieties, but also for all the other indigenous languages of Ecuador. The ubiquitous

influence of Spanish on Amazonian Kichwa dialects manifests itself in numerous lexical and grammatical borrowings.

## 1.2 The Napo Runa

In this section, I briefly outline the social organisation of the *Napo Runa* (1.2.1) and then sketch the current sociolinguistic situation of Tena Kichwa (1.2.2).

### 1.2.1 Social organisation of the Napo Runa

As mentioned previously, the speakers of Tena Kichwa call themselves *Napo Runa* (the People of Napo). Traditionally, they are agriculturalist and hunters. Their main crop is manioc, from which they make *chicha* – a drink of cooked and fermented manioc paste mixed with water. *Chicha* is of great importance for the Napo Runa culture, it often replaces food in times of poor crops or scarcity of money, and is traditionally offered to guests visiting the household, and shared during collective labour events called *mingas*, as well as other social events. The *Napo Runa* are skilled hunters and fishermen, but in recent years it has become difficult to rely on hunting for subsistence, due to decreasing numbers of wild animals in the region. In the community where I stayed, wild meat is increasingly used only on special occasions, and is often bought from the hunter-gatherer Waorani people, whose territory neighbours the lands of the *Napo Runa*, and extends deeper east into the Amazon.

The Runa society is structured around the kinship group, the *muntun*, which includes both consanguineal and non-consanguineal kin. A smaller unit of consanguineal kin, also including spouses, is referred to as *ayllu*. A thorough description of Runa family relationships and process of kin formation can be found in Uzendoski (2005), who also describes the importance of the different matrimonial rites for the creation and maintenance of social cohesion. Another important social institution is a network of formalised friendships (Spanish: *compadrazgo*), often used to reinforce the existing links between families or neighbours. Nowadays, the Napo Runa often choose the Waorani, or non-indigenous settlers, as their *compadres* or *comadres*.

It is not clear when and how Kichwa came to be spoken in the Ecuadorian Amazon. Kichwa-speaking settlers might have arrived in the area around the 16<sup>th</sup> century, or, what seems much more likely, the local peoples might have previously spoken a different language, and have adopted Kichwa as a result of contact. Exploring this issue is beyond the scope of this work, but a wealth of anthropological literature on the subject exists (cf. e.g. Muratorio 1998; Uzendoski 2005; Hornborg & Hill 2011; Reeve 2014; Uzendoski & Whitten Jr. 2014). As mentioned previously, the Runa mythological narratives (see e.g. Alvarado Narváez 2010) bear resemblances to those of the groups with which they are, or used to be, in contact. Uzendoski and Whitten Jr. (2014: 5) suggest that the Napo Runa mythology could be considered a transformation of the Tupí-Guarani tradition, and that traditional Runa pottery indicated similar cultural influences. For interpretation of Kichwa oral tradition in relation to Amazonian ethno-poetics, see Uzendoski and Calapucha-Tapuy (2012).

The historic memory of the Napo Runa traces the origins of their ethnic group to the warrior Jumandy, the leader of the 1578 insurrection against the Spanish (Uzendoski 2005; Uzendoski & Whitten Jr. 2014). The modern-day Kichwa speaking peoples of the Napo identify themselves as descendants of Jumandy, despite the fact that he belonged to an ethnicity known as ‘Quijos’. In recent years, Napo Province has seen the re-emergence of the Quijos ‘nationality’. Around Tena, the provincial capital, inhabitants of several villages now call themselves Quijos rather than Kichwa, and separate political representation organs for Quijos have been put in place. Those who use this label emphasize the fact that Kichwa has only been spoken in the region for several centuries, having replaced their ancestral language. Through the process of Quijos resurgence, their aim is to re-connect with their pre-colonial, ‘pure’ indigenous Amazonian identity. However, since the original language of the Quijos has been lost, today they still speak varieties of Kichwa.

### **1.2.2 Current sociolinguistic situation of Tena Kichwa**

In contemporary Ecuador, the Amazonian Kichwa are recognised as one of the *pueblos* (‘peoples’) within the Kichwa indigenous nationality, encompassing both Andean and Lowland Kichwa speakers. Speakers of thirteen of the major varieties of Andean Kichwa are all regarded as separate *pueblos*. On the other hand, the Kichwa-

speaking inhabitants of the four Eastern provinces: Sucumbíos, Orellana, Napo and Pastaza, spanning over 82,000 km<sup>2</sup>, are treated by the government as one *pueblo*.

Ecuador is home to thirteen distinct ethnolinguistic minority groups (Minority Rights Group International 2014), but only Kichwa and Shuar are recognised, alongside Spanish, as ‘official languages of intercultural relations’ (ANCE 2008: art. 2). The only official language of the country and its institutions is Spanish. Neither the constitution, nor language- and minority-related policies distinguish between Highland and Lowland Kichwa. Moreover, the Highland Kichwa are, by and large, the indigenous group most present in the public discourse and the media. This situation often leads to the misconception that the Amazonian and Highland Kichwa speakers share a cultural identity. However, the Napo Runa that I talked to did not feel they have anything in common with the speakers of Highland Kichwa, despite the fact that the varieties they speak are, to some extent, mutually intelligible. The speakers of the different Amazonian Kichwa varieties, on the other hand, do share a cultural identity, mythology, customs, and principles of social organisation.

Muratorio’s (1998) account of the socio-economic history of the Upper Napo region since the 1850s tells a story of profound change over the last 160 years. These changes were accelerated first by the rubber boom (1880s-1913), and later by the increasing exploitation of crude oil in the region. As recently as the 1970s, the Kichwa living along the Napo River were predominantly monolingual. However, with the influx of tourists, mestizo residents, oil companies, and state educational provisions, the importance of Spanish for local people’s everyday life began to increase. Men often work for the petroleum plants, and many young people live outside the traditional communities and move to Tena or other bigger cities outside the province.

In my host community most people were bilingual in Spanish. The only group whose knowledge of Spanish was limited – or, in very few cases, non-existent – were people over sixty. Those in their thirties and forties were bilingual in Tena Kichwa and Spanish and communicated in TK amongst themselves. As far as I observed, people in their twenties tend to communicate in TK with their parents and partners, but very often, if not most of the time, switch to Spanish when talking to children. Teenagers use TK less frequently than Spanish. They have a predominantly passive



knowledge of the language, which allows them to understand their parents. Amongst themselves, however, they interact primarily in Spanish. Children have limited knowledge of TK, and speak in Spanish with their parents and amongst themselves. Narratives of culture and language loss feature frequently in the interviews that form part of the corpus used in this dissertation.<sup>3</sup> The sociolinguistic situation in my host community is likely to be influenced by the fact that it is situated only about 50 kilometres away from the provincial capital, Tena. The bus ride from Tena to the community takes about two hours. My visits to communities further afield were brief, but many of my Kichwa interlocutors mentioned that in the more secluded settlements more young people still actively used the language.

The province of Napo has recently undergone rapid development, particularly of infrastructure. Moreover, many of the Napo Runa have moved to cities. Whilst living in urban centres, Napo Runa begin to increasingly use Spanish rather than TK, but TK remains an important token of their identity. A clear discrepancy can be observed between people's positive attitudes and declared allegiance to the use of Kichwa and their everyday linguistic practices which are dominated by Spanish. Moreover, in a similar manner to that described for the Highland varieties, the use of TK is threatened by the introduction of Unified Kichwa within the bilingual education programme (cf. Hornberger & King 1996; King 2001).<sup>4</sup>

Bilingual education in Spanish and indigenous languages has been in place in Ecuador since 1986. The network of bilingual schools, established in regions inhabited by indigenous communities, works in parallel to monolingual, Spanish schools in other areas. Bilingual Kichwa education is carried out in Unified Kichwa, a national standardized Quechuan variety agreed on in 1980 (Hornberger & King 1996). The Unified Kichwa variety differs from Lowland Kichwa, most notably in terms of phonology, morphology and lexicon. Unified Kichwa rejects lexical borrowings from Spanish, and as a consequence its lexicon differs significantly from that of the local varieties. This, in turn, is confusing for students, who perceive the differences between the variety they learn at school and the one spoken at home. Consequently, they often abandon communication in Kichwa altogether in favour of

---

<sup>3</sup> See, in particular interviews KICHB07AGO2011PEDROCHIMBO and in\_13082013, deposited in the ELAR Archive.

<sup>4</sup> However, see Uzendoski & Whitten Jr. (2014) for a positive evaluation of the role of the Intercultural Bilingual Education programme in language maintenance.

Spanish. Moreover, speaking Unified Kichwa is now required of Napo Runa who wish to participate in government-organised cultural events, including those meant to support local Kichwa customs (cf. Wroblewski 2014). Furthermore, the Intercultural Bilingual Education Board (*Dirección de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*, DINEIB) published a dictionary, pedagogical grammar and language teaching manual of Unified Kichwa, whilst simultaneously withdrawing similar materials available in the local Kichwa varieties.

To my knowledge, no official evaluation of these policies in the Napo region has been carried out to date. However, similar policies have had adverse effect on intergenerational transmission in other communities in the past (cf. e.g. King 2001; Hornberger & King 1996) and the increased shift to Spanish in Tena Kichwa-speaking communities suggests that the language policy currently in place is not effective. In spite of the above, Tena Kichwa is classified as ‘vigorous’ (Lewis 2015), most likely due to the fact that the language (or rather Unified Kichwa), is recognised by the state and is used in education. However, this evaluation should be subject to further scrutiny, as current and future generations of parents are less and less likely to use Tena Kichwa in the home, and the vitality of the language will most likely decline rapidly over the next generation.

### **1.3 Research**

This thesis focuses on a set of Tena Kichwa enclitics, labelled ‘discourse’ or ‘free’ in the literature on Quechuan languages. These enclitics have similar morphosyntactic properties across Quechuan varieties: they always occur word-finally and are not restricted to hosts from a particular word class. Although they are not grammatically obligatory or generally required for felicity of utterances, little is known about the factors conditioning their occurrence.

In other Quechuan languages, the semantics of these enclitics is mostly associated with evidentiality and information structure. However, as far as I am aware, none of the previous studies has looked into the relationship between these two aspects of their meaning. The objective of this thesis is to provide a detailed insight into the

distribution and meaning of the TK discourse enclitics, so as to explain not only where and why they occur in discourse, but also where and why they do not.

In this section, I contextualise and delimit the research presented in subsequent chapters. Firstly, I specify the literature used in the description and analysis of TK grammar (1.3.1). Secondly, I define the key notions used across this thesis (1.3.2). Thirdly, I outline my research questions and the rationale behind them (1.3.3). Subsequently, I describe the process of creation of the TK corpus on which this research is based (1.3.4). Lastly, I provide an overview of the research methodology used in this study (1.3.5).

### **1.3.1 Selection of Quechuan literature**

The Quechuan language family has been studied extensively, and it is beyond the scope of this work to provide an overview of, or even refer to, all the available grammatical descriptions of Quechuan languages, or relevant literature dealing with the different aspects of the Quechua language and culture. Nonetheless, the sources cited in this thesis have not been selected arbitrarily.

To ground the discussion pertinent to the internal subdivision of the language family, and to illustrate some general issues regarding the language family as whole, I have chosen the most recent monograph available (Adelaar with Muysken 2004). As for the grammatical description, relatively little has been written on Tena Kichwa in particular (cf. Orr & Wrisley 1965; Orr 1975; 1981; O'Rourke & Swanson 2013), other Ecuadorian varieties (Cole 1982; Nuckolls, e.g. 1993; 1996; 2012) and Ecuadorian Quichua in general (Muysken 1995). Of all the references above, only Cole's work (1982) is a comprehensive grammatical description. Given the scarcity of sources on Ecuadorian Quechua, the description of patterns encountered in Tena Kichwa was also informed by a comparison with Quechuan varieties spoken outside Ecuador. I chose to use the grammars of Peruvian (QI and QII) varieties as sources of comparative data for several reasons. Firstly, as mentioned in Section 1.1.1, the Quechua I varieties Peru is the 'Quechua homeland', from which the use of the language family spread further afield. Secondly, most of the available descriptions of evidential systems of Quechuan languages concern Peruvian QI and QII varieties. In describing particular aspects of the TK grammar, I sought out the literature providing

the most comprehensive description of the same grammatical phenomenon in another Quechuan variety. I decided to avoid using pedagogical grammars, since the linguistic description they provide is not aimed at linguists, but rather at language learners, and, as a consequence, is significantly less detailed. However, I have made exceptions from this rule (Mújica & Goldáraz 2010; Howard 2013) in cases in which I could not find, or access, descriptive grammars describing the relevant linguistic phenomena.

### **1.3.2 Definitions**

The main topic of this thesis is the TK ‘discourse markers’. As in the introduction to this section, I have stated that the enclitics I investigate have been referred to as ‘discourse’ enclitics, consequently, ‘discourse’ will be the first notion I define. It has been defined in linguistic research in a variety of ways and it is beyond the scope of this work to review them all. In this thesis, I understand discourse as ‘a coherent string of propositions’ (Dijk 2010: 182), that is, a string of propositions which is both coherent and cohesive (cf. e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1976; Sanders & Pander Maat 2006), used in a communicative setting. Before elaborating on this definition, I introduce another important distinction – that between discourse and text.

Halliday and Hasan define text as ‘any passage, spoken or written, of whatever length’ that form a unified whole, but also as ‘a unit of language in use’ (1976: 1). Their definition does not clarify the difference between text and discourse. I understand ‘discourse’ as ‘text in use’ (cf. Widdowson 2004), and therefore only retain the first part of Halliday and Hasan’s definition of text. Consequently, I see every discourse as a text, although not every text is a discourse. I use the notion of ‘unit of discourse’ to refer to distinct subparts of discourse, which can be sub-clausal, or sub-phrasal, but which form a separate unit. For instance, an exclamative utterance ‘oh!’ is a valid unit of discourse.

As mentioned above, discourse is cohesive and coherent. ‘Cohesive’ means that the interpretation of one linguistic element depends on another element in the same text (Halliday & Hasan 1976). Consequently, cohesion is a feature of the linguistic form of the text. ‘Coherence’ is a more conceptual notion, which can be understood as logical ‘connectedness’ on the discourse level (Sanders & Pander Maat 2006: 591).

Consequently, coherence is a cognitive phenomenon, rather than an inherent property of texts (cf. e.g. Sanders & Spooren 2001; Sanders & Pander Maat 2006). It can arise as a result of interpretation of the linguistic form, but it can also be arrived at in the absence of cohesive devices in a text. Consider:

(1.1)

The winter was very cold. Many animals died.

The stretch of discourse in (1.1) is not cohesive, but is likely to be interpreted as coherent, as the hearer will assume a causal relation between the clauses. Coherence relations can also arise due to discourse in context. I understand ‘discourse context’ as extra-linguistic aspects of the speech situation, such as situational and communicative settings, relationships between interlocutors, their social roles etc. (cf. Hymes 1964; 1976; Cameron 2001). ‘Linguistic context’ is the linguistic material that surrounds a given unit of discourse.<sup>5</sup>

The notions of discourse, text and context are used over the course of this thesis. In the subsequent chapters I deal with more specific issues, and introduce more specific notions. In Chapter 3, I analyse the TK enclitic as discourse markers, that is, as expressions which increase discourse coherence (cf. e.g. Schifffrin 1987), and define this and related notions in more detail. In Chapter 4, I describe the role of the markers in information structure, or ‘pragmatic structuring of proposition’ (e.g. Krifka 2007) and also define the related notions. In Chapter 5, I define evidentiality as ‘linguistic coding of the source of information’ (Aikhenvald 2004), and discuss the epistemic notions related to it in more detail.

### 1.3.3 Research questions

The research presented in this thesis stems from an interest in how evidential and other ‘discourse’ enclitics in TK are used to further communicative goals of discourse participants. The interaction of evidential semantics and discourse has been explored in several recent studies of evidentiality in non-Quechuan languages (e.g. Michael 2008; Gipper 2011; Bergqvist 2012). These analyses show that a link can be

---

<sup>5</sup> In scholarship on discourse markers, ‘discourse’ and ‘linguistic’ context are often referred to as ‘context’ and ‘cotext’, respectively.

established between evidential and inter-subjective meaning (e.g. Bergqvist 2012), and demonstrate that evidential meaning can arise as a consequence of interactional contexts in which a given marker is used (cf. Gipper 2011). These and other studies of evidentiality and related phenomena indicate that many new insights are to be gained from studying ‘evidential’ and other ‘discourse’ enclitics in naturalistic communicative contexts. In this study, I test this claim with respect to Tena Kichwa. To my knowledge, none of the previous studies of evidential enclitics in Quechua is based predominantly on a corpus of naturalistic spoken discourse.

The class of TK ‘discourse’ enclitics includes enclitics analysed as evidentials in other Quechuan varieties, but is not limited to them. To date, only the ‘evidential’ subset of Quechuan discourse enclitics has been explored in detail. The existing studies focused either on the markers’ evidential semantics (Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002), or on their focus-marking function (Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010). Consequently, Quechuan evidentiality is relatively well-explored, but little has been said on the interaction of the evidential meaning of the enclitics with their roles in structuring discourse. Moreover, while the enclitics in question are not grammatically obligatory, previous studies grant little attention to why and in what contexts speakers choose not to use them.

In this thesis, I provide comprehensive descriptions of the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of TK discourse enclitics, and explore how these relate to their role in structuring discourse. These objectives lead to several main research questions:

**a) What are the morphosyntactic properties of each marker?**

Exploring the morphosyntax of the enclitic will allow for establishing the similarities and differences between them, and verifying whether they can be analysed as a morphosyntactic paradigm. Establishing in which contexts each marker is ungrammatical, and those in which it is obligatory, will permit drawing some preliminary conclusions about their semantics. This research question is answered in Chapter 3, where I provide a morphosyntactic description of TK enclitics and single out the paradigm of ‘discourse enclitics’.

**b) How do TK discourse enclitics contribute to structuring of discourse?**

In previous research, certain Quechuan enclitics were analysed as marking information structural categories such as topic and focus. The fact that the markers in question are not syntactically obligatory raises questions as to how their information structure-related functions should be defined. I answer this research question in Chapter 4.

**c) What, if any, evidential or epistemic meanings do TK discourse markers encode?**

In other varieties of Quechua, the best-explored subset of ‘discourse’ enclitics are the evidential markers. Therefore, to provide a complete account of the TK enclitics, it is crucial to examine whether they too encode evidential values, and what other meanings they are associated with. I answer this research question in Chapter 5.

**d) Is there a relationship between the semantics of discourse enclitics and their role in structuring discourse?**

If the enclitics contribute to pragmatic structuring of discourse, and encode epistemic or evidential values, it is plausible to assume that these two aspects of their meanings are related. In answering this question, I explore the contribution made to the utterance by epistemic and information structure markers, so as to show that they do have a common underlying meaning. This analysis is carried out in Chapter 6.

**e) What factors, in addition to information structure and semantics, account for the markers’ distribution in discourse?**

Given that the enclitics are not grammatically obligatory, it could be expected that their occurrences and non-occurrences in discourse can be accounted for if their epistemic and information structural meanings are taken into account. However, this is not always the case for TK discourse enclitics. Also in Chapter 6, I discuss additional factors which should be considered to provide a satisfactory account of the distribution of TK enclitics in discourse.

### **1.3.4 Fieldwork and data**

The data on which this dissertation is based was collected during two field trips to Ecuador, which lasted a total of ten months. In this section, I describe the location of fieldwork (1.3.4.1), and the TK documentary corpus created as a result of it (1.3.4.2).

#### **1.3.4.1 The host community**

My main field site was the village of Nuevo Paraíso, situated on the bank of the Napo River, about fifty kilometres west from Tena, the capital of the Napo Province. During both fieldtrips, I was generously hosted by Lydia Chimbo and her family.

Nuevo Paraíso is a relatively big community by local standards. As of September 2014, 53 ‘associates’ (Spanish: *socios*) lived in the village, most of whom were heads of families. Families are formed by parents, unmarried children, and sometimes also widowed grandparents. They range in size from three to about ten people, the average number of children per family in this particular community being about five. Nuevo Paraíso is accessible by river, and by a dirt road, used by the petroleum plant operating nearby. Buses to and from Tena pass through Nuevo Paraíso several times a day. Due to the poor quality of the road, covering the 50km distance takes about two hours, but this is likely to change in the coming years, as infrastructure development in the area is progressing rapidly. Still, the best way to reach more secluded settlements and communities scattered around the area is to travel by motor canoe. Nuevo Paraíso was established in 1997 around a bilingual school which opened that same year, and its inhabitants come mostly from different communities in the Napo province.

In the field, I worked with a team of Kichwa researchers: Nilo Licuy, Jacobo Chimbo, Wilma Aguinda and Edwin Shiguango. Transcriber and translator Sofía Alvarado also contributed to the corpus. Several members of the team previously worked on the project of anthropological documentation of TK led by Patty Bermúdez of FLACSO Ecuador (*Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales*, Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences). Others joined the team specifically for the linguistic documentation project. I found the Kichwa collaborators using the ‘snowball’ method, mostly in the social networks of my hosts and people involved in the



previous project. They were all native speakers of TK and bilingual in Spanish. They also had good computer literacy skills.

The TK documentation project was a collaborative effort. The first step towards creating the TK documentation was selection of the topics to be documented. This was done by the Kichwa researchers, who included my suggestions regarding the intended representative nature of the corpus. As a result, we documented different aspects of life in the village, recorded community events and conducted interviews with community members. Although Nuevo Paraíso was the main fieldwork location, we occasionally travelled to different communities in the area, within the radius of about thirty kilometers.

After having selected the topics to document, the next step was the selection of participants - experts on the topics we intended to document in the local communities. The Kichwa researchers selected these experts and approached about taking part in the project.

I provided the team members with training in using the project's video camera and audio recorder. When I accompanied the other members of the research team on a trip to collect data, I worked as camera and sound operator, while the others worked as interviewers. However, when I did not participate in the data collection at all, and the Kichwa researchers acted as both interviewers and camera operators.

Another aspect of training provided to the Kichwa team members regarded software, as all the segmentation, transcription and translation of the recorded data was done in ELAN. During several training session, the team members learnt how to use it, and those who joined the project first, for instance Nilo Andy, then provided training to those who joined later. We have ensured consistency in annotation by using an ELAR annotation template (courtesy of Connie Dickinson). The Kichwa researchers segmented, transcribed and translated the recordings. I reviewed the transcription and translation, and then they were reviewed again by myself and the annotator, or another member of the research team. Consequently, each transcription that forms part of the documentary corpus was reviewed at least twice.

This process was not applied to the ‘elicitation’ part of the corpus (see Section 1.3.4.2), in the case of which I segmented, transcribed and translated most of the recordings.

#### **1.3.4.2 The data**

The research project comprised not only the creation of the thesis, but also a documentary corpus of TK. The definition of language documentation as creating a ‘lasting, multi-purpose record of a language’ (Himmelman 2006) is well-established in documentary linguistics. A ‘lasting’ record is created using technology and formats which will make it accessible to as many people as possible, but discussing the details of appropriate data formats is beyond the scope of this thesis. The other aspects of the definition above, however, merit some discussion, because they were crucial to the design of the TK corpus on which this thesis is based.

For a collection of data to be considered ‘a record of a language’, the data it contains should be representative of how language is used in its natural habitat (Seifart 2008). That is, a corpus needs to contain data from a diverse range of genres, varying in spontaneity (cf. e.g. Woodbury 2003). The least spontaneous genres used within a community include ritual discourse, certain prayers, songs and the like. The most spontaneous discourse genre, and the most difficult type of discourse to document, is everyday conversation. The different genres are likely to be of interest to different types of audiences, and to be useful for different purposes (cf. Woodbury 2014).

An ideal ‘multi-purpose’ corpus would be a resource where people interested in the documented language for different reasons, and with a variety of purposes in mind, could find the data they need. However, for practical reasons, documentary corpora are usually created with only certain audiences in mind. In the case of the TK corpus, the goal was to make it useful for the research on TK discourse markers, as well as a valuable and interesting resource for the TK speakers. To meet these different needs, the corpus was divided into three parts: naturalistic discourse, elicited discourse, and elicitation.

The ‘naturalistic discourse’ part of the corpus was designed jointly with the other members of my research team. The purpose of this part of the corpus was to document discourse practices of the TK speakers, and to document topics and

practices important for the Napo Runa culture. First, my Kichwa collaborators suggested potentially interesting topics. Then they approached community members who were experts on a given topic, and asked them to participate in an interview or demonstration. They have also acted as interviewers and facilitators of the recorded events. This part of the corpus includes interviews, life-stories, traditional narratives, two-party and multi-party conversations, monologues, ceremonial speeches, community events, political discourse and wedding songs. In many cases, the genres present in the corpus are not easily distinguished. In particular, conversations and traditional narratives often fuse (Howard 2012: 248), especially in interviews with older participants.

The fact that the documentation was carried out with a team of researchers native to the community, and sometimes without my presence at all, helped to minimise the observer's paradox. This is also why the communicative events analysed for the purpose of this dissertation can safely be called 'naturalistic', if not 'natural' speech. All 'naturalistic discourse' data were recorded both on audio and video.<sup>6</sup> This not only facilitated the transcription process, but also made the analysis of the recorded events, especially multi-party conversations or community celebrations, much more accurate. Although over 24 hours of naturalistic discourse data were recorded over the course of the project, 11 hours were transcribed and translated into Spanish, and therefore could be analysed. It contains data from about forty speakers.

The second part of the corpus contains 'elicited discourse', or 'staged communicative events' (Himmelmann 2006): discourse resulting from presenting consultants with video and picture stimuli, or asking them to perform specific tasks. The stimuli I used in this part of the corpus included e.g. the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980), and the tasks for two consultants from the Questionnaire on Information Structure (Skopeteas et al. 2006). These types of tasks allow for obtaining naturalistic parallel data (San Roque et al. 2012: 137), and compare constructions used by various speakers in the same discourse situation. They also allow the researcher to control what information is, and is not, shared between discourse participants – a task unattainable when using naturalistic discourse. The 'elicited discourse' part of the

---

<sup>6</sup> One of the recordings was contributed to the corpus by the members of the previous, anthropological documentation project carried out in Nuevo Paraíso and financed by FLACSO Ecuador, but transcribed and translated within the current project.

corpus includes data from six speakers. I discuss it in more detail in Section 4.1.2, along with the methodological considerations concerning research on information structure.

The third part of the corpus contains ‘elicitation’ data, that is, data coming from elicitation sessions with a single consultant, which do not contain coherent discourse, but rather utterances of individual sentences. In the elicitation sessions speakers were asked to translate sentences from Spanish to TK, and to judge grammaticality or felicity of TK utterances (Matthewson 2004: 381). Despite the fact that the analysis presented in this thesis is driven by naturalistic language data, elicitation was an important part of the documentation process. As observed by Matthewson (2004: 376-77), naturally occurring text cannot supply negative evidence, as it does not contain ungrammatical or infelicitous constructions. Moreover, low-frequency constructions which might be of interest to linguists might not appear in naturalistic discourse even in a relatively large corpus. The elicitation data were also of crucial importance for obtaining data included in the TK grammar sketch (see Chapter 2). The ‘elicitation’ corpus includes a range of translation and judgement tasks exploring phenomena from different areas of the TK grammar. It also contains the single informant task from the Questionnaire on Information Structure (Skopeteas et al. 2006). Grammatical elicitation was conducted with three TK speakers.

Table 1.1 provides a summary of the corpus used in this thesis. It also shows which kinds of data were collected during which fieldwork period. During my first fieldwork, I focused on grammatical elicitation and collection, translation and transcription of naturalistic discourse. During the second fieldwork, I focused on testing hypotheses regarding discourse enclitics through elicitation and experiments which resulted in ‘elicited discourse’.

**Table 1.1 TK documentary corpus**

|               | <b>Elicitation</b>     | <b>Elicited discourse</b>                 | <b>Naturalistic discourse</b> |
|---------------|------------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| 1st fieldwork | 7h 39 min 57sec        | 17 min 41 sec                             | 9h 34min 06sec                |
| 2nd fieldwork | 19h 55min 50sec        | 1h 45min 49sec                            | 1h 26 min 43 sec              |
| <b>TOTAL</b>  | <b>23h 05min 27sec</b> | <b>2h 3min 30sec</b><br><b>1537 turns</b> | <b>11h 00min 43sec</b>        |

The ‘naturalistic’ and ‘elicited’ discourse data shown in Table 1.1 were transcribed and translated into Spanish by the Kichwa researchers, revised by me, and revised again with the transcriber to explain any unclear points. The transcription and translation was carried out in ELAN. Moreover, I glossed the ‘elicited discourse’ part of the corpus on the morphological level, using Toolbox. When referring to the number of turns given in Table 1.1 for this part of the corpus, it should be kept in mind that the transcribers have only received basic training in transcription techniques. Consequently, the turns in the TK corpus might sometimes differ from what would be postulated as a turn by transcribers more familiar with linguistic theory and transcription conventions.

The corpus does not include any written texts. This is a conscious decision, since my main interest was how discourse particles are used in dynamic, communicative situations. Moreover, written discourse is not readily available in TK; all Kichwa publications in Ecuador are in the Unified Kichwa variety. While less formalised written genres, such as conversations on social media, are more dynamic and conform to local language norms, I did not have access to such data.

### **1.3.5 Research methodology**

The methodology underlying the collection of the corpus was described in Section 1.3.4.2. Here, I focus on the methodological considerations underlying the analysis of the data.

As mentioned in the title, the research presented in this thesis is corpus-based. Treating the TK corpus as the point of departure, I adopt a semasiological perspective: I focus on certain linguistic forms and investigate their meaning and functions. I discuss different aspects of the semantics of TK discourse enclitics, including their role in marking information structure and their epistemic meaning. However, the discussion is limited to the meanings encoded by TK enclitics. The aim of this study is to analyse the enclitics in question, not to explore all linguistic strategies used to mark evidentiality or information structure in TK.

Given that this study is of a descriptive nature, my aim was for it to remain neutral with respect to theories of grammar. In the discussion of concepts such as Information Structure, evidentiality or epistemicity, I mention the theoretical grounding of how I choose to analyse these notions.

Over the course of the analysis, I compare the patterns of the occurrence of clitics attested in the different parts of the corpus – elicitation, staged communicative events and naturalistic discourse. Comparing these three types of data provides an insight into whether and how the distribution of discourse enclitics is affected by the communicative contexts in which they occur. Moreover, this approach clearly shows that analysis based only on one type of data adversely affects the robustness of conclusions which can be made on its basis. This approach will be combined with elements of sequential analysis (cf. e.g. Gipper 2011). Clauses containing discourse enclitics will be situated in a communicative sequence, including adjacency pairs (cf. Schegloff 2007), and the correlations between communicative goals of speakers and the use of discourse enclitics will be explored.

## **Chapter 2      Grammar sketch**

This chapter is a sketch of selected aspects of TK grammar. Its aim is to give the reader a basic descriptions of the grammar of TK, necessary to understand the examples given in the following chapters. Consequently, this sketch is not meant as a comprehensive description. For those areas of the grammar for which comprehensive descriptions already exist, the discussion here is limited to a minimum, and references to other work are provided.

### **2.1 Phonology**

In this section, I introduce the TK phonemic inventory (2.1.1) and discuss the basic features of the TK suprasegmental phonology (2.1.2). The discussion in both sections is based on O'Rourke and Swanson's (2013) phonological description of TK, coupled with my TK data.

#### **2.1.1 Phonemic inventory**

In this section, I discuss the inventory of TK consonants (2.1.1.1) and vowels (2.1.1.2).

##### **2.1.1.1 Consonants**

TK has twenty one consonantal phonemes, shown in Table 2.1 below. There is a notable difference between the consonantal inventories of TK and other Lowlands varieties (e.g. Orr 1975) on the one hand, and those of better-described Highland Quechua on the other. In Lowland varieties, the contrast between voiced and voiceless plosives is phonemic. In proto-Quechua, obstruent voicing was not phonemic (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 196), and the same obtains for many modern-day Highland varieties. Unified Kichwa (see Section 1.2.2) orthography makes the same assumption. Stops are represented by graphemes *p*, *t* and *k*, and their voiced variants are considered allophones which only occur after nasal consonants. In TK, voiced plosives are separate phonemes, which have developed in part due to the incorporation of these sounds from Spanish (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013:110). Nonetheless, the Unified Kichwa orthography influences the pronunciation of TK

speakers, who cease to voice the obstruents in all contexts when attempting to speak Unified Kichwa, nowadays often associated with higher prestige than the local Amazonian varieties (c.f. e.g. Wroblewski 2014).

**Table 2.1 TK consonantal phonemes**

|                            | <b>Bilabial</b> | <b>Dental/Alveolar</b> | <b>Postalveolar</b> | <b>Palatal</b> | <b>Velar</b> |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------|
| <b>Plosive</b>             | p      b*       | t      d*              |                     |                | k      g*    |
| <b>Nasal</b>               | m               | n                      |                     | ɲ              |              |
| <b>Tap</b>                 |                 | ɾ                      |                     |                |              |
| <b>Fricative</b>           |                 | s      z**             | ʃ                   |                | x            |
| <b>Affricate</b>           |                 | ts      dz             | tʃ      dʒ          |                |              |
| <b>Central approximant</b> |                 |                        |                     | j              | w            |
| <b>Lateral approximant</b> |                 | l                      |                     | ʎ              |              |

\* Appears word-initially primarily in loan words

\*\* Appears word-initially in few native words

Adapted from O'Rourke and Swanson (2013: 109)

Detailed discussion of the realisations of each of the above phonemes in word-initial, intervocalic, post-nasal, syllable-final, and word-final positions can be found in Swanson and O'Rourke (2013).

There is one important difference between the inventory of TK consonants given in Table 2.1, and the one of TK proposed by O'Rourke and Swanson (2013). The authors postulate only the voiceless affricate phonemes, and treat its voiced equivalents as allophones. In Table 2.1, I postulate voiced affricates as separate phonemes.

In their description of TK, O'Rourke and Swanson remark that further investigation is needed in TK, 'including low frequency vocabulary', to determine whether [tʃ] and [dʒ], which they consider as allophones of /tʃ/, are separate phonemes (2013: 111). My data indicate that the two sounds are separate phonemes, as evidenced by the following minimal pair:



(2.1)

*mandzu* /mand͡ʒu/ ‘NEG=chu’ vs *manchu* /mant͡ʃu/ ‘a stinky insect resembling a grasshopper’

The lexical item *manchu* barely occurs in the corpus, which confirms O’Rourke and Swanson’s observation that evidence for this phonemic contrast is likely to come from low-frequency vocabulary. In high-frequency lexical items, /d͡ʒ/ occurs almost exclusively in post-nasal context, while /t͡ʃ/ is not constrained to any particular context, and frequently occurs after nasals. Only considering high-frequency lexical item might therefore lead to an erroneous conclusion that voiced and voiceless postalveolar affricates are allophones of the same phoneme.

Another phonemic contrast which I postulate in Table 2.1 is that between voiced and voiceless alveolar affricates. This contrast is not considered phonemic by O’Rourke and Swanson (2013), but Orr’s (1975) description of Puyopongo Kichwa, a variety related to TK, does distinguish between two alveolar, as well as between two postalveolar, affricates. In my data, no example of minimal pairs involving the alveolar affricate sounds [ts̺]/ and [d͡z̺] was attested, but there are several examples of near-minimal pairs. Consider:

(2.2)

*atsay* /atsaj/ ‘let go!’ vs *adza* /ad͡za/ emphatic: *chicha*<sup>7</sup>

Both sounds can occur in word-initial environments, preceding vowels /a/ and /i/, though only /ts̺/ occurs before /u/ (see Section 2.1.1.2). They both occur between the instances of the low vowel /a/, or between high front unrounded /i/ and high back rounded /u/. This allows concluding that the voicing contrast between alveolar affricates is phonemic in TK. Nonetheless, this result should be corroborated with future research; both alveolar affricates are relatively infrequent in the corpus.

Table 2.2 below presents the orthographic representation of TK consonants used in this thesis.

---

<sup>7</sup>*Chicha* is a traditional drink made from manioc (see Section 1.1.1).

**Table 2.2 Orthographic representation of TK consonants**

|                            | <b>Bilabial</b> | <b>Dental/Alveolar</b> | <b>Postalveolar</b> | <b>Palatal</b> | <b>Velar</b>     |
|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|
| <b>Plosive</b>             | p      b        | t              d       |                     |                | k              g |
| <b>Nasal</b>               | m               | n                      |                     | ɲ              |                  |
| <b>Tap</b>                 |                 | r                      |                     |                |                  |
| <b>Fricative</b>           |                 | s              z       | ʃ                   |                | ʒ                |
| <b>Affricate</b>           |                 | ts              dz     | ʧ              ʤ    |                |                  |
| <b>Central approximant</b> |                 |                        |                     | y              | w                |
| <b>Lateral approximant</b> |                 | l                      |                     | ʎ              |                  |

The orthographic conventions given for the TK consonants in Table 2.2 constitute an adaptation of the Unified Kichwa orthography, which does not cater for certain phonemic distinctions made in TK, such as that between voiced and unvoiced plosives. Note that the convention given above contains an idiosyncrasy - the same grapheme is used to represent the alveolar and postalveolar voiced affricate. This is consistent with how the community members write these two phonemes.

### 2.1.1.2 Vowels

TK has three vowel phonemes: /i/, /a/ and /u/, used both in native words and in loanwords from other languages adapted to TK phonology (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013: 111). All three vowels can occur in both stressed and unstressed position, as shown in Table 2.3:

**Table 2.3 TK vowels in stresses and unstressed positions**

|              | UNSTRESSED /i/  | UNSTRESSED /a/   | UNSTRESSED /u/   |
|--------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|
| STRESSED /i/ | /ˈʃimi/ ‘mouth’ | /ˈpitʃka/ ‘five’ | /ˈkiru/ ‘tooth’  |
| STRESSED /a/ | /ˈmaki/ ‘hand’  | /ˈwata/ ‘year’   | /ˈjaku/ ‘water’  |
| STRESSED /u/ | /ˈkutʃi/ ‘pig’  | /ˈuma/ ‘head’    | /ˈtʃusku/ ‘four’ |

Adapted from O'Rourke & Swanson (2013: 111)

The transcription of vowels /i/ and /u/ given above is largely a matter of convention used across Quechuan languages, since their actual quality is considered to be closer to lower and more centralised variants [ɪ] and [ʊ] (Guion 2003, cited in O'Rourke & Swanson 2013: 112).

Due to extensive contact with Spanish, and many lexical borrowings from the language, mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are also used by TK speakers on a daily basis. They do not occur in words of Quechuan origin, but are found in loanwords which have not been adapted to TK phonology (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013:111).

In the orthography used in this thesis, I use the graphemes 'i', 'a' and 'u' to represent the TK vowels. It should be remarked, however, that the orthography used here is slightly idiosyncratic when it comes to representing the high vowels 'i' and 'u' in diphthongs. Due to the conventionalised manner of writing certain lexical items, the graphemes 'j' and 'w' are variably used to represent lateral approximants and high vowels in diphthongs.

## **2.1.2 Suprasegmental phonology**

This section I briefly introduces the patterns of syllable structure (2.2.2.1) and stress assignment (2.2.2.2) in TK.

### **2.1.2.1 Syllable structure**

When two adjacent vowels occur in TK, one of the high vowels is always realised as a central approximant, leading to the occurrence of falling diphthongs:

(2.3)

- a. /ti'gra-ɥ-n/      turn-PROG-3    's/he is turning'
- b. /puk'ʎa-ɥ-n/    play-PROG-3    's/he is playing'

O'Rourke & Swanson (2013: 112)

In (2.3), the progressive marker /-u/ forms a falling diphthong with the preceding nucleus. The syllable structures showcased above are CV(C) and (C)CVVC. Taking the above as evidence that falling diphthongs occur in TK, O'Rourke and Swanson

(2013: 112) analyse instances of glide (or semivowel) following the nucleus as falling diphthongs also where the coda consonant is absent:

(2.4)

a. /'pai̯.-wa/      s/he-INS<sup>8</sup>      'with him/her'

b. /'kau̯.sa-n/      live-3      's/he lives'

Adapted from O'Rourke & Swanson (2013: 112)

Examples in (2.4) add another syllable type to the ones listed previously: CVV.

With respect to syllable structure, evidence for the occurrence of rising diphthongs is less clear than for the falling ones. Complex onsets exist in TK, as shown in (2.3a), but complex onsets in combination with a glide were not attested. Consequently, examples in (2.5) are analysed as instances of complex onset containing a central approximant, rather than a rising diphthong (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013: 112-3):

(2.5)

a. /'tja-n/      exist-3      '(s)he/it exists'

b. /'tja-ŋ-n/      exist-PROG-3      '(s)he/it is existing/living'

Adapted from O'Rourke & Swanson (2013:112-3)

In line with the above, (2.5a) represents a falling diphthong preceded by a complex onset, rather than a triphthong (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013: 113). Although confirming this claim needs additional research, it could be postulated that only falling diphthongs occur in TK. Consequently, semi-vowel sounds in syllable onsets should always be analysed as central approximants:

(2.6)

/i̯.ya -j/      think-OBJ.NMLZ      '[a] thought'

The transcriptions of (2.6) and (2.4a) instantiate the above proposal, and showcase a TK syllable type not discussed previously, only containing the nucleus.

---

<sup>8</sup> Glossed as 'copulative' in the original.

Lastly, when two identical vowels occur adjacently, they are interpreted as a long vowel, rather than a diphthong. In my corpus, this pattern was only attested for /i/:

(2.7)

/ˈwasi-i/ > [waˈsi:] house-LOC ‘in [the] house’

O’Rourke & Swanson (2013:113)

In sum, the syllable structures attested in TK are of the types (C)V(C) and (C)CVV(C). The most frequent syllable type attested in TK is CV. The minimal word also has this structure, as in *ri!* (/ri/, ‘go!’).

### 2.1.2.2 Stress

In Quechuan languages stress typically occurs on the penultimate syllable, and TK is no exception in this regard. This conclusion has been corroborated by visual and auditory inspection of pitch tracks of carefully selected tokens. The stressed syllables were identified based on the qualitative analysis of the correlates (pitch, intensity, duration).

In certain cases, however, stress falls on the ultimate syllable. This tends to be the case for disyllabic ideophones, e.g. *tulún tulún*: ‘sound of falling stones’. It also applies to nouns affixed with the locative marker -y. Consider (2.7) above and (2.8) below:

(2.8)

/ˈpun.dza/ ‘day’ vs /punˈdza -i/ day-LOC ‘on [the] day’

O’Rourke and Swanson (2013: 113) observe that the locative suffix only affects word stress of polysyllabic words ending in a vowel, which is confirmed by the examples above. They also list other suffixes which shift the word stress of their hosts to the last syllable: the present tense suffixes /-n/ (3SG) and /-nun/ (3PL), as well as the suffix /-ngax/, which I analyse as ‘purpose’, and they gloss as ‘used to express future obligation’. While my data confirm O’Rourke and Swanson’s observation related to stress shift for the latter two suffixes, in my corpus the interaction of the suffix /-n/ with stress seems to be optional. Although exploring this issue in detail is beyond the scope of this work, initial observation suggests that the

interaction of /-n/ with stress might depend on the position of the verbs in the clause, and may be influenced by the intonation pattern of the utterance in which it occurs.

Secondary stress might be perceived on either the first or the second syllable of some words (O'Rourke & Swanson 2013:113), but detailed discussion of it is beyond the scope of this work. Our knowledge of other prosodic features of TK, including intonation, is still limited, and discussing them also goes beyond the scope of this sketch grammar. In Chapter 3, I come back to lexical stress, discussing how it interacts with TK enclitics.

## 2.2 Morphology of major word classes

TK exhibits morphological characteristics typical of the Quechuan language family. It is agglutinative and almost exclusively suffixing.<sup>9</sup> Its derivational and inflectional patterns are very regular, with limited occurrence of phonemic alternations. It exhibits Nominative-Accusative morphosyntactic alignment, and the predominant word order tends towards SOV. Quechuan varieties, including TK, have two different patterns of inflection: verbal and nominal. Consequently, many previous studies postulate two major open grammatical classes in Quechua: Nouns and Verbs (cf. Parker 1969; Lefebvre & Muysken 1988; Weber 1989).

In this section, I discuss the inventory of TK word classes. The distinctions I propose are based on morphological, syntactic and semantic criteria. I discuss the two macro-classes associated with differing patterns of inflection: Verbs (2.2.1) and Nominals (2.2.2). Nominals encompass Nouns, Adjectives and several minor sub-classes. I also posit several minor non-nominal word classes (2.2.3).

The lexical items I consider here are bound and free roots. Consequently, derivational and inflectional suffixes, as well as enclitics<sup>10</sup>, are excluded from the discussion of word classes. Nominal and verbal derivation and inflection is discussed in detail in Sections 2.3 and 2.4, respectively. Enclitics, the occurrence of which is

---

<sup>9</sup> The only prefix in my data is a nominal derivational prefix *la-*, added to kinship terms to derive terms for corresponding stepfamily members (e.g. *yaya* 'father', *layaya* 'stepfather', *mama* 'mother', *lamama* 'stepmother'). As far as the data show, the productivity of *la-* is limited to kinship terms.

<sup>10</sup> Given that TK is an (almost) exclusively suffixing language, with respect to TK the terms 'clitics' and 'enclitics' are used synonymously in the remainder of this thesis.

not restricted to a particular word class, are analysed in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

It is prudent to mention that some studies of Quechuan languages distinguish a word class of ‘Ambivalents’. Parker (1969) describes it for Ayacucho (QIIC) and Floyd (2011) for Highland Ecuadorian Quechua (QIIB). Ambivalents ‘function both as substantives and verbs’ (Parker 1969: 24–5) and are ambiguous with respect to their syntactic and semantic properties (Floyd 2011).

In the TK corpus, certain stems exhibit mixed patterns of inflection, making their word-class membership ambiguous between V and N, N and Adj, V and Adj, or between all three classes. The ‘prototypical’ TK Verbs are bound roots which take verbal morphology and their category membership can only be changed through nominalisation (see Section 2.4.1.3). Prototypical TK Nominals are free roots, taking nominal morphology, and can be turned into verb stems by denominalising morphology (see Section 2.3.1.1). The ‘ambivalent’ lexical items can take either nominal or verbal morphology without any derivational operations applied to them. Consider the syntactic behaviour of a ‘prototypical’ verb root *miku-* ‘to eat’:

(2.9)

- |    |  |             |            |
|----|--|-------------|------------|
| a. | mishki                                 | miku-na-ra  | miku-w-ni  |
|    | sweet                                  | eat-INF-ACC | eat-PROG-1 |
|    | ‘I am eating tasty [lit. sweet] food.’ |             |            |
| b. | *mishki                                | miku-ra     | miku-w-ni  |
|    | sweet                                  | eat-ACC     | eat-PROG-1 |

elicited

In (2.9a), the verb root is affixed with the infinitive *-na* to derive a noun *mikuna* ‘food’, the direct object of the inflected verb *miku-* ‘to eat’; (2.9b) shows that the verb root cannot be used as an argument if it occurs without the nominalising or infinitive suffix. This contrasts with the syntactic behaviour of the ‘ambivalent’ stem in (2.10):

(2.10)

- a.    *shindzi*            *tamya*  
      strong            rain  
      ‘heavy rain’
- b.    *ashka*            *tamya-w-n*  
      much            rain-PROG-3  
      ‘It is raining a lot.’

attested

In (2.10a) *tamya* ‘rain’ is the head of an NP, and in (2.10b) it functions as the main verb, without any denominalising morphology. Therefore, it could be analysed as ‘ambivalent’ (Parker 1969). However, I choose a simpler analysis: that certain verbal and nominal stems can be homophonous.

### 2.2.1 Verbs

The division between TK verbal and nominal roots can be unambiguously established on the basis of their morphology. TK Verbs are an open class of bound roots, mostly disyllabic, and always vowel-final (see example (2.9)) They comply with semantic and syntactic characteristics proposed for the verb as a cross-linguistic category: they denote actions or processes, and lack special coding when used predicatively (Croft 1991: 67; Haspelmath 2012: 124).

TK verbal derivational processes include valence adjustment, modification of Aktionsart, and several kinds of nominalisation. Verbal inflection is the most complex part of TK morphology; verbs inflect for aspect, tense, mood, subject, object and number. Verbal morphology is discussed in Section 2.4, and the structure and syntactic properties of VPs – in Section 2.5.2.3.

### 2.2.2 Nominals

TK Nominals are free roots, inflecting for case and number. They encompass ‘thing roots’ and ‘property roots’ (cf. Haspelmath 2012: 124), which are mostly disyllabic, as well as different types of pro-forms, which are monosyllabic.



Those semantically distinct types of roots vary with respect to their syntactic behaviour in the ‘three major propositional-act types: reference, predication and attribution’ (cf. Croft 1991: 67; Haspelmath 2012: 124). Before proceeding to the description of the nominal sub-classes, I briefly discuss how ‘thing-roots’ (denote entities) and ‘property-roots’ (denote properties) behave with respect to the three propositional types mentioned above. Note that it is traditionally assumed that Quechuan languages lack the class of ‘Adjective’ (cf. Floyd 2011 for discussion and an opposing view). However, as pointed out by Haspelmath (2012), an adequate description of word classes is not a matter of labels they are assigned, but of an accurate description of the properties they exhibit. In this thesis, I distinguish nouns (‘thing-roots’) and adjectives (‘property-roots’) as two sub-classes of TK nominals, on the basis of the fact that the former, but not the latter, can function referentially/as phrasal heads in all contexts (see discussion below). An alternative analysis could be that thing- and property-roots belong to the same lexical class, but the modifier position precedes the position of the semantic head.<sup>11</sup> These two analyses, however, differ only in terms of labels, and not of properties they assign to thing-root and property-roots. In what follows, I choose to use ‘adjective’ as a label, as doing so allows to more clearly distinguish outliers among the TK free enclitics (see Section 3.3.2.11).

Both thing-roots and property-roots can be used predicatively with the copula *a-* (‘to be’):

(2.11)

- |    |                     |       |       |
|----|---------------------|-------|-------|
| a. | Paula               | warmi | a-n   |
|    | NAME                | woman | COP-3 |
|    | ‘Paula is a woman.’ |       |       |
|    |                     |       |       |
| b. | Paula               | sumak | a-n   |
|    | NAME                | good  | COP-3 |
|    | ‘Paula is pretty.’  |       |       |

elicited

---

<sup>11</sup> Thank you to Eva Schultze-Berndt for pointing this out.

Example (2.11a) is of an equative nominal predicate, and (2.11b) – of an adjectival predicate. All other types of TK Nominals can also be used predicatively – examples of such constructions are abundant across the chapters of this thesis.

Nouns and Adjectives also behave the same way in attribution:

(2.12)

- |    |                   |              |              |
|----|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| a. | <i>kamba</i>      | <i>warmi</i> | <i>allku</i> |
|    | kan -pa           | warmi        | allku        |
|    | 2SG-GEN           | woman        | dog          |
|    | ‘your female dog’ |              |              |
|    |                   |              |              |
| b. | <i>kam-ba</i>     | <i>sumak</i> | <i>allku</i> |
|    | 2SG -GEN          | good         | dog          |
|    | ‘your good dog’   |              |              |

elicited

Both examples in (2.12) show of possessive NPs headed by the noun *allku* (‘dog’). They demonstrate that both ‘thing’ and ‘property’ roots can be used as pre-nominal attributive modifiers without additional morphological marking. A difference between TK Noun and Adjective is that while adjectives can precede nouns within an NP, nouns cannot precede adjectives (cf. Floyd 2011; Haspelmath 2012:117, see Section 2.5.2.2).

The last propositional-act type considered by Croft (1991: 67) is reference. In TK, both nouns and adjectives can be used referentially. Nouns are referential independently of the discourse context. For an adjective to be referential, however, the referent which it describes needs to be identifiable for both the speaker and the addressee<sup>12</sup>:

(2.13)

- |    |                                  |               |               |                |
|----|----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| a. | <i>Yolanda</i>                   | <i>mishki</i> | <i>sopara</i> | <i>yanuka.</i> |
|    | Yolanda                          | mishki        | sopa-ta       | yanu-ka        |
|    | NAME                             | sweet         | soup-ACC      | cook-PST       |
|    | ‘Yolanda cooked [a] tasty soup.’ |               |               |                |

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 4 for discussion of identifiability.

- b. ?Yolanda            mishki-ra            yanu-ka  
                               NAME            sweet-ACC            cook-PST  
                               ‘Yolanda cooked [a] tasty [one].’

el\_02122014\_01

While (2.13b) is grammatical, it requires an appropriate discourse context to be felicitous. Nouns are the only sub-class of TK Nominals which can be used referentially independent of the context. All the other sub-classes pattern with adjectives in this respect. Below, I briefly introduce the different sub-classes of TK Nominals.

### 2.2.2.1 Nouns

TK nouns designate entities, such as persons, places and things (c.f. Schachter & Shopen 2007: 5). Noun roots are unbound and mostly disyllabic. As shown above, they can be used referentially in any discourse context, and can also be used attributively, or predicatively, when used with the copula *a-* (‘to be’).

There is no grammatical gender in TK, nor a distinction between count and mass nouns. Nominal stems are ambiguous for number, and the plural marker */-guna/* is not always used in cases when the referent of the noun is plural. Nouns take more derivational morphology than any other sub-class of nominals (see Section 2.3.1). Nominal stems can also be derived from verbs by means of nominalising morphology (see Section 2.4.1.3).

### 2.2.2.2 Adjectives

TK adjectives are descriptive modifiers of nouns, but can also function referentially when the referent they modify is identifiable, and the noun denoting the referent is elided. As far as the data show, all adjectives expressing gradable concepts can be modified by degree adverbials:

(2.14)

- |              |             |                                  |                |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>kamba</i> | <i>yapa</i> | <i>sumak</i> / <i>*sumajkuna</i> | <i>ushiwna</i> |
| kan -pa      | yapa        | sumak / sumak-guna               | ushi-guna      |
| 2SG -GEN     | very        | pretty / pretty-PL               | daughter-PL    |
- ‘your very beautiful daughters’

elicited

Example (2.14) shows that when used attributively, TK adjectives do not agree with the nouns they modify in either gender (which is not grammatically marked) or number.<sup>13</sup> It also demonstrates that, within TK NPs, the modifier always precedes the item it modifies (see Section 2.5.2.2).

### 2.2.2.3 Minor nominal word classes

There are several minor nominal sub-classes in TK. Here, I describe the basic properties of Pronouns (2.2.2.3.1) and Numerals (2.2.2.3.2). I first outline their shared properties, and subsequently focus on the differences.

Both pronouns and numerals can function referentially on the same basis as adjectives, but they cannot be modified by adverbs, which they precede within the NP. Compare (2.14) above with (2.15):

(2.15)

- |    |                              |      |           |            |
|----|------------------------------|------|-----------|------------|
| a. | chi                          | yapa | sumak     | warmi-guna |
|    | D.DEM                        | very | beautiful | woman-PL   |
|    | ‘those very beautiful women’ |      |           |            |
|    |                              |      |           |            |
| b. | ishki                        | yapa | sumak     | warmi-guna |
|    | two                          | very | beautiful | woman-PL   |
|    | ‘two very beautiful women’   |      |           |            |

elicited

As shown in (2.15), when adjectival and adverbial modifiers are present, both pronouns and numerals precede them within the NP. Like other nominal modifiers, pronouns and numerals do not agree in number with the noun they modify. They do take plural marking, however, when occurring predicatively, as in (2.16), or referentially, as in (2.17):

---

<sup>13</sup> The adjectives can be modified by the plural marker when not used attributively, e.g. *malta-guna shamu-nun* (young-PL come-3PL, ‘The young ones are coming’). Compare with the use of PL marking on a numeral in (2.16).

(2.16)

pichka-guna=mi      [a-nun]  
five-PL=mi      [COP-3PL]  
‘[there are] the five [of them]’

el\_04102013\_10 045

(2.17)

chi-guna-ma      api -tuku -nga      ra -nun...  
D.DEM-PL-DAT      grab -finish -FUT      AUX -3PL  
‘[the farmers] will catch them [the boys]’

el\_24092014\_03 74

As shown above, both pronouns and numerals precede adverbs and adjectives within the NP. When occurring in the same NP, the pronoun precedes the numeral:

(2.18)

*Comunidadpaj,*      *chay*      *ishki*      *motowaraña.*  
comunidad-pa-k      chi      ishki      motowaraña  
community-GEN-BEN      D.DEM      two      strimmer  
‘Those two strimmers [are] for the village [lit. community].’

ev\_04102013\_10 069

Below, I briefly discuss the morphological and semantic properties constitutive of the two word classes.

#### 2.2.2.3.1 Pronouns

Three sub-classes of pronouns are attested in the TK corpus:

- i. Personal pronouns: *ñuka* (1SG), *kan* (2SG), *pay* (3SG), *ñukanchi* (1PL), *kanguna* (2PL), *payguna* (3PL). Possessive and personal pronouns are homophonous.
- ii. Demonstrative pronouns/determiners: proximal *kay* ‘here’ and distal *chi/chay* ‘there’.
- iii. Interrogative pronouns: *pi* ‘who’, *ima* ‘what’ or *may* ‘where’ etc.

Pronouns are nominal roots which are mostly monosyllabic, and which can either replace referential nouns in discourse (personal and interrogative pronouns), or modify them (demonstrative pronouns/determiners).

While personal and demonstrative pronouns can be modified by quantifiers such as *tukuy* ‘all’, interrogative pronouns tend not to be modified. All three classes of pronouns inflect for numbers and case.

#### 2.2.2.3.2 Numerals

As shown above, TK numerals can function attributively, referentially and predicatively. Cardinal and ordinal numerals are homophonous in TK. The TK numeral system is decimal. Nowadays, Spanish numerals are very often used by TK speakers, especially when the number in question is higher than ten.

The inventory presented above does not encompass all TK lexical items which can take nominal morphology. More work is needed to establish the category membership of items such as *tukuy* (‘all’) or *karan* (‘every’) which quantify over nouns, but seem to vary e.g. in terms of whether or not they can be used referentially.

### 2.2.3 Minor non-nominal word classes

In this section, I introduce the word classes of Adverbs (2.2.2.3.1) and Particles (2.2.2.3.2). It is prudent to mention that these are not the only two remaining word-classes of TK. A class which does exist, but will not be discussed here for reasons of space, are Ideophones – a class of sound-symbolic expressions common in Amazonian languages. For their detailed description in Pastaza Quichua, a variety closely related to TK, see Nuckolls (1996).

#### 2.2.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs modify both Adjectives and Verbs. Adverbial roots do not take any inflectional morphology. This class includes adverbs of manner and degree (see (2.15) above), as well as temporal deictic expressions such as *kuna* ‘today, now’, *kaya* ‘tomorrow’ or *kayna* ‘yesterday’. Adverbs can also be derived from Adjectives with the ACC suffix /-ta/ (see Section 2.2.2.3.2):

(2.19)

- a.    *sumak*                *warmi*  
       pretty                woman  
       ‘beautiful woman’
- b.    *sumak-ta*            *tushu-nguichi*  
       pretty -ta            dance-2PL  
       ‘You (PL) dance beautifully.’

elicited

In (2.19a), the adjective *sumak* ‘pretty’ modifies a noun. In (2.19b), affixed with the Accusative /-ta/ (see Section 2.3.2.2), it functions as an adverb.

### 2.2.3.2 Particles

This class includes free stems, which tend not to take any inflectional morphology. They include negative particle *mana* and affirmative *ari*, as well as discourse connectives such as *shinakpi* ‘therefore’, *chiraygu* ‘then’/‘consequently’, *shina* ‘like this’, among others. The phonological shape of many of the items in this class suggests that they are collocations which became grammaticalised as discourse connectives. Consider: *shina-kpi* (like.this-SWREF), *chi-raygu* (D.DEM-CAUSAL).

## 2.3 Nominal morphology

Nominals inflect for number and case, and both these categories are encoded by bound suffixes. The last inflectional ‘slot’ is occupied by ‘independent affixes’, or clitics, which attach to both nominal and verbal stems, and fulfil a range of pragmatic/discourse functions (see Chapter 3). The ordering of TK nominal suffixes is presented in Figure 2.1.

**Figure 2.1 Ordering of TK nominal affixes**

| Stem |            | Inflectional morphology |      | Independent<br>enclitics |
|------|------------|-------------------------|------|--------------------------|
| ROOT | Derivation | Number                  | Case |                          |
|      |            |                         |      |                          |

The structure of nominals in TK, and in Ecuadorian Kichwa in general, is less complex than in other Quechuan varieties. According to Cole (1982: 6), this is due to processes of morphological simplification, which led, among other changes, to the loss of subject-verb agreement in nominalised subordinate clauses in all Ecuadorian varieties. Moreover, while in most Quechuan languages possessive relations are indicated on both the head and the dependent nominal, it is not the case in the Ecuadorian varieties. In TK, this simplification is more far-reaching still, since even the genitive marker on the possessor is also not obligatory. Compare analogous structures from the Peruvian variety of South Conchucos (QI) and TK:

(2.20)

a. South Conchucos Quechua (QI)

|        |        |       |       |         |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|---------|
| chakra | -ntsik | -kuna | -pita | =mi     |
| field  | -12    | -N.PL | -ABL  | =DIR.EV |

*from our fields (I affirm)*

D.J. Hintz (2012)

b. Tena Kichwa (QII)

|          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| ñukanchi | chagra-guna-manda(=mi) |
| 1PL      | field-PL-ABL(=mi)      |

*from our fields*

elicited

Examples in (2.20) above illustrate the differences in nominal morphology between the more ‘conservative’ Quechua varieties (see Section 1.1) and TK.

Before I discuss nominal derivation (2.3.1) and inflection (2.3.2), it is in order to explain how those two terms are used in this thesis. Canonically, I understand *derivation* as a sum of morphological processes that result in the change in the meaning of the lexeme, and – possibly, but not necessarily – in the change of its syntactic category. The term *inflection*, on the other hand, applies to morphological processes that have ‘grammatical’, rather than ‘lexical’ meaning. They are determined by the syntactic role of the lexeme, and are semantically more regular than the derivational processes (cf. Kroeger 2005: 250-9).



### 2.3.1 Derivation

In this section, I describe some derivational processes that apply to TK nominals. The aim is not to provide a comprehensive list of the processes in question, but rather to briefly demonstrate how they function. To this end, I discuss three examples of nominal derivational morphology: the verbalizer *-ya-* (2.3.1.1), the diminutive/augmentative suffixes (2.3.1.2), and the ‘proprietary’ suffix *-yuk* (2.3.1.3).

#### 2.3.1.1 Verbaliser *-ya-*

The verbalising suffix is perhaps the most ‘prototypical’ example of nominal derivation in TK, since it derives a new lexeme from the host it suffixes to, and the resulting lexeme belongs to a different grammatical category. It can attach to both nouns and adjectives.

(2.21)

- a.    *llandu tuta*  
      dark    night  
      ‘[a] dark night’
- b.    *ña tuta-ya-w-n*  
      already    night-VLZ-PROG-3  
      ‘It’s already getting dark.’

attested

Example (2.21) illustrates the effect of *-ya-* on the noun, *tuta* (‘night’). In (2.21a), it functions as a head of an NP. In (2.21b), suffixed with *-ya-*, it functions as a verb which takes aspect and tense/person agreement.

#### 2.3.1.2 Diminutive and augmentative suffixes

Speakers of TK make extensive use of diminutive and augmentative suffixes. Diminutive affixes *-wa* and *-waya* are used to indicate emotional proximity or compassion, and can be used with any noun, including proper names. They are often used for kinship terms. Compare *mama* ‘mother’ and *mamawaya* ‘mommy’.

The augmentative *-sapa* has an evaluative meaning, and is used to indicate exceptionally big size, or to convey negative attitude towards the object or person in

question. It also often gives rise to figures of speech, e.g. to synecdoche. Compare: *maki* – ‘hand(s)’, *makisapa* – ‘long hand(s)’/‘a person with long hands’; *ñawi* – ‘eye(s)’, *ñawisapa* – ‘big eye(s)’/‘a nosy person’. Another augmentative suffix, *-ruku*, clearly derived from the adjective *ruku* ‘old’, also indicates the speaker’s emotional proximity with the referent of the noun it modifies. It suffixes most often, if not exclusively, to animate nouns denoting people, e.g. *kumbaruku* (kumba-ruku), meaning roughly ‘my old pal’.

### 2.3.1.3 Proprietary suffix -yuk

The cognates of this suffix are attested in other Quechuan varieties. For Cuzco (QII), it is glossed as a possessive marker (Faller 2002), and for Highland Ecuadorian (QII), as ‘with’ (Floyd 2011). The data suggest that in TK the marker has a different meaning. It does not simply mark an instrumental argument role, which is expressed with the instrumental *-wa* (see Section 2.3.2.3.3). Consider:

(2.22)

- a.    kullki -yuk                      shamu-ni  
       money-PROP                    come-1  
       ‘I come with money/as a man with money.’

- b.    \*kam-ba                    kullki-yuk                    shamu-ni  
       2SG-GEN                money-PROP                come-1  
       Intended: ‘I come with your money.’

elicited

Example (2.22b) is judged ungrammatical, which confirms that the TK *-yuk* cannot simply be glossed as ‘with’. However, the grammaticality of (2.22a) suggest that the marker encodes a meaning associated with accompaniment and/or possession. Examples in (2.23) confirm this:

(2.23)

- a.    iksa-yuk                      warmi  
       stomach-PROP                woman  
       ‘[a] pregnant woman ( lit. with a stomach)’

- b. shungu-yuk                      runa  
      heart-PROP                      person<sup>14</sup>  
      ‘[a] mature man’ / ‘[a] true man (lit. with a heart)’

attested

The fact that (2.22a) and both examples in (2.23) are grammatical also shows that the suffix is not associated with specifically with either alienable or inalienable possession. Note that in all three cases given above, the *-yuk*-suffix modifier seems to encode a certain property of the referent it modifies: a woman with a belly is a pregnant woman, a man with money is a rich man, and a man who has a heart [in the right place] is a mature person. All uses of the TK *-yuk* seem to have this in common: they derive a characteristic of an entity from a fact that it possesses a certain object. For the purpose of this thesis, I gloss the suffix as ‘proprietary’, but further research is needed into the semantics of *-yuk*, and into its interaction with possessive morphology, including the Genitive *-pa* (see Section 2.3.2.3.4) and the Instrumental *-wa* (See Section 2.3.2.3.5).

## 2.3.2 Inflection

This section describes the TK nominal inflection. As mentioned previously, in TK and other Amazonian Quechua varieties, nominal inflection is less complex than in other varieties of Quechua. In the sections that follow, I firstly discuss contextual inflection: Number (2.3.2.1) and Case (2.3.2.2). Consequently, I describe inherent inflectional suffixes which encode peripheral case-like meanings (2.3.2.3).

### 2.3.2.1 Number

In TK, like in other Quechuan varieties (cf. e.g. Parker 1969: 28), nominal stems are ambiguous with respect to number. A plural suffix *-guna* can be added to the stem of count nouns for it to acquire an explicit plural meaning:

<sup>14</sup> *Runa* means ‘Kichwa man’, or ‘Kichwa person’. I gloss it as ‘person’ for the sake of brevity.

(2.24)

|             |                 |                    |
|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>Ñuka</i> | <i>churiwna</i> | <i>atungunami.</i> |
| ñuka        | churi-guna      | atun-guna=mi       |
| 1SG         | son -PL         | big -PL=mi         |

‘My sons are big.’

el\_12092013 183

The suffix makes the plural number of its host explicit, but is by no means obligatory: compare (2.24) with (2.18) above. In (2.24), the adjective *atun* (‘big’) is used predicatively. When used attributively, adjectives tend not to agree with the head in either number or case:

(2.25)

|             |                   |                   |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>atun</i> | <i>aychawnara</i> | <i>apamuk....</i> |
| atun        | aycha-guna-ta     | apamu-k           |
| big         | animal-PL-ACC     | bring-AG.NMLZ     |

‘[the man in the old days] used to bring big animals [from a hunt]...’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO2 215

Many TK speakers who are exposed to Unified Kichwa tend to use the Unified variant of the PL marker: [-*kuna*].

### 2.3.2.2 Case

TK exhibits the Nominative-Accusative pattern of alignment, typical of Quechuan languages. Consequently, there are two grammatical cases in TK, associated with the core arguments:

- i. **Nominative:** zero-marked
- ii. **Accusative:** *-ta*, with allomorphs: [-*ra*] (postvocally); [-*da*] (after nasals).

Nominative and Accusative case inflection is contextual – required by the syntactic structure of the clause (e.g. Booij 1996). Subject arguments of both transitive and

intransitive clauses occur in the Nominative case, and are zero-marked.<sup>15</sup> Direct objects occur in the Accusative case. Consider:

(2.26)

|              |                 |                |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>Maria</i> | <i>Wandzura</i> | <i>wajtan.</i> |
| Maria        | Juan -ta        | wajta -n       |
| NAME         | NAME-ACC        | hit -3         |

‘Maria hits Juan.’

el\_310502013\_1 118

Example (2.26) shows the prototypical use of the TK Accusative marker. However, the role of the ACC marker in TK morphosyntax is far from limited to marking direct object NPs (cf. Floyd 2011: 44 for discussion of ACC in Highland Ecuadorian Quichua). When the marker occurs on NPs in transitive clauses, as in (2.26), it marks the direct object relationship. In ditransitive clauses, it can occur on both direct and indirect objects. On some indirect objects (see Section 2.5.1.2.2), the ACC can occur interchangeably with the Dative/Lative *-ma*:

(2.27)

|              |                   |              |                |   |                |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|---|----------------|
| <i>Pablo</i> | <i>sisagunara</i> | <i>kuyan</i> | <i>Mariama</i> | / | <i>Mariara</i> |
| Pablo        | sisaguna-ta       | kuya -n      | Maria -ma      | / | Maria-ta       |
| NAME         | flower -PL-ACC    | give -3      | NAME-DAT       | / | NAME-ACC       |

‘Pablo gave Maria flowers.’

el\_310502013\_1 240

Although */-ma/* can occur on indirect objects, it is an inherent, rather than contextual inflectional marker. When functioning as an indirect object marker, it is always interchangeable with the Accusative. It also attaches to non-term arguments with semantic roles of goal and recipient (see Section 2.3.2.3). In these contexts, it is not interchangeable with the Accusative suffix.

---

<sup>15</sup>My use of the term ‘zero-marked’ follows Bybee (1994), who defines a zero-marker as a marker ‘with semantic content, but without overt realization in the form of a morpheme’. For a more in-depth discussion of the terms ‘unmarked’ and ‘zero-marked’ see e.g. Mueller (2013: 3-5).

As mentioned in Section 2.2.3.1, the ACC marker is also used to derive adverbs from adjectives (see (2.19), (for Cuzco Quechua, this use of ACC is mentioned by Cusihuamán 1976/2001: 120 and discussed by Calvo Pérez 1993: 253). This indicates that in TK, and in some other Quechuan varieties, Accusative marking has a broader range of functions than indicating the direct object relationship.

In elicitation context and in careful speech, direct objects are always marked with the Accusative suffix. However, in more spontaneous speech the marker is often omitted. Preliminary observation suggests that these omissions are not associated with a given semantic type of verb, or properties of direct objects, including number, animacy, or semantic role in a given clause. Therefore, the semantic and syntactic contexts in which *-ta* is omitted in discourse remain to be investigated in the future.

In some Quechuan varieties, subjects are reported to occur in the Accusative if their semantic role corresponds to ‘experiencer’(cf. Jake 1985; Cole 1982). This does not seem to be the case in TK. I discuss the TK grammatical relations in more detail in Section 2.5.1.

### **2.3.2.3 Inherent inflectional affixes**

Inherent inflection is ‘the kind of inflection that is not required by the syntactic context, although it may have syntactic relevance’ (Booij 1996: 237). In this section, I discuss a class of TK markers the occurrence of which is not dictated by the syntactic structure of clauses, but rather by the semantic roles of their hosts (cf. Kroeger 2005: 103). Unlike contextual case marking, the inherent affixes can in some combinations co-occur with one another, or with the ACC suffix, on the same host. The following inherent inflectional affixes are attested in the TK data:

- i. Lative/Dative *-ma*
- ii. Ablative *-manda*
- iii. Instrumental/Comitative *-wa*
- iv. Genitive *-pa*
- v. Benefactive *-k*
- vi. Locative *-pi*
- vii. Causalis *-raygu*
- viii. Lative/Delimitative *-gama*

In this section, I focus on the semantic roles of nominal and pronominal phrases affixed with each of the inherent affixes. The grammatical relations in which constituents marked with inherent inflection can enter are discussed in Section 2.5.1.

What requires further research in the future studies of TK is whether both contextual and inherent inflectional markers should be analysed as suffixes, or enclitics. As I will show in Section 3.3.2.11, in the discussion of the limitative marker *=lla*, at least some contextual/inherent inflection markers can attach to the nominal stem both to the left and to the right of *=lla*. This is shown in (3.97) for the INSTR *-wa*, (3.98) for the LOC *-pi* (both in Section 3.3.2.11), and in (3.20) in for the ACC *-ta* (Section 3.3.2.2). More data is needed to conclude whether the TK contextual/inflectional markers are described more adequately as suffixes or as clitics.

#### 2.3.2.3.1 Dative/Lative *-ma*

The suffix *-ma* occurs on indirect objects with the semantic role of recipient, as in (2.27) above. It also attaches to NPs with the thematic roles of goal of movement, as in (2.28), or location, as in (2.29):

(2.28)

|       |           |         |
|-------|-----------|---------|
| Pablo | ista-ma   | shamu-n |
| NAME  | party-DAT | come-3  |

‘Pablo came to the party.’

el\_310502013\_1 371

(2.29)

|       |            |           |              |
|-------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| Maria | chagra-ma  | traba-nga | ra-w-n       |
| NAME  | field -DAT | work-FUT  | make-PROG -3 |

‘Maria will work in the field.’

el\_310502013\_1 621

In the remainder of this thesis, I gloss *-ma* as a Dative marker. However, the examples above show that the TK Dative does not only indicate location, but also the movement towards a location, cross-linguistically associated with the Lative case. This meaning of */-ma/* is similar to that of the Lative/Delimitative case *-gama* (see Section 2.3.2.3.8).

### 2.3.2.3.2 Ablative -*manda*

The TK Ablative occurs on NPs with the semantic roles of the geographical start-point of a movement, as in (2.30), or temporal start-point of an action, as in (2.31).

(2.30)

*Kay                awa    lumamanta.*  
 kay                awa    luma-manda  
 P.DEM            high   hill-ABL  
 ‘From here above, from the hill.’

in\_20092013 161

(2.31)

Lunes-manda            tarba-ka-ni  
 monday-ABL            work-PST-1  
 ‘I have been working since Monday.’

elicited

As shown in (2.30), the TK Ablative marker can be realised with the unvoiced stop, as [-manta]. This is due to the influence from Unified Kichwa, where voiced stops are allophones of voiceless stops, and are represented by the same graphemes (see Section 2.1.1.1). The Ablative also occurs on NPs with the thematic roles of theme, as in (2.32), or reason, as in (2.33):

(2.32)

Juan                ambi   -manda            yacha-n  
 NAME            medicine -ABL            know-3  
 ‘Juan knows about medicine/is an expert in medicine.’

el\_310502013\_1 443

(2.33)

ñuka                kan-manda=mi            shamu- ka-ni  
 1SG                2SG-ABL =mi            come-PST-1  
 ‘I came because of you.’

el\_310502013\_1 364



The examples above show that the range of thematic roles marked by */-manda/* includes, but is not limited to, the canonical meaning of Ablative inflection, indicating motion away from something.

### 2.3.2.3.3 Instrumental/Comitative *-wa*

The marker *-wa* is used in instrumental and comitative constructions, shown in (2.34) and (2.35), respectively.

(2.34)

|      |           |           |         |
|------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Juan | llave-wa  | pungu-ra  | paska-n |
| NAME | key-INSTR | door -ACC | open -3 |

‘Juan opened the door with a key.’

el\_310502013\_1 218

(2.35)

|      |           |           |                 |           |
|------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|
| kuna | kasna     | kay-bi    | rima-w-shka-ni  | kan-wa    |
| now  | like.this | P.DEM-LOC | talk-PROG-ANT-1 | 2SG-INSTR |

‘now here I am also talking with you’

in\_25052013\_2\_02 050

As shown above, when occurring on NPs with inanimate referents, *-wa* indicates the instrument used to perform an action. On NPs with animate referents, it indicates accompaniment.

### 2.3.2.3.4 Genitive *-pa*

The Genitive marker *-pa* has three allomorphs: [-ba] after nasals, [-wa] post-vocally and after approximants, and [-pa] in all other contexts. The Genitive attaches to possessors in possessive NPs:

(2.36)

|         |       |
|---------|-------|
| Dios-pa | shimi |
| god-GEN | word  |

‘the word of God’

attested

Moreover, in TK possessive NPs, the Genitive is optional on nominal heads:

(2.37)

- a. [ Juan-ba pantalón ] liki-ri-shka=mi  
 NAME-GEN trousers tear-ANTIC-ANT=mi  
 ‘Juan’s trousers have broken.’

el\_310502013\_1 392

- b. [ Juan libro=mi ] liki-ri-shka  
 NAME book=mi tear-ANTIC-ANT  
 ‘Juan’s book has torn.’

el\_310502013\_1 534

The contrast between (2.36) and (2.37a) on the one hand, and (2.37b) on the other shows that nominal possessors are not obligatorily marked in TK. Preliminary observation suggests that the (non-)occurrence of marking is not related to the type of possessee, the kind of possessive relationship (alienable/inalienable) or the animacy of the possessor. Although this issue needs further investigation, it seems that GEN marking on nominal possessors is optional in TK. This contrasts with the occurrence of the GEN on pronominal possessors – the marker never occurs on the 1SG pronoun, but it is obligatory on 2SG and 3SG pronouns:

(2.38)

- a. ñuka                      yaya  
 1SG                      father  
 ‘my father’
- b. \*ñukawa                yaya  
 ñuka-pa                yaya  
 1SG-GEN                father

(2.39)

- a. \*kan                      yaya  
 2SG                      father
- b. kamba                    yaya  
 kan-pa                    yaya  
 2SG-GEN                father  
 ‘your father’

The fact that (2.38a) is grammatical and (2.38b) is not, and the converse relationship between (2.39a) and (2.39b) shows that occurrence of Genitive marking is independent of the type of the possessee.

#### 2.3.2.3.5 Benefactive -k

The marker *-k* often undergoes lenition to [-x] in rapid speech. The suffix occurs on NPs designating beneficiaries in the broad sense. The BEN marking is only grammatical on beneficiary NPs which function as predicates or adjuncts. Below, the *-k*-marked NP designates a beneficiary:

(2.40)

|     |        |         |      |            |
|-----|--------|---------|------|------------|
| Kay | killka | a-n=mi  | ñuka | yaya-j     |
| DEM | letter | be-3=mi | 1SG  | father-BEN |

‘This letter is for my father.’

el\_12092013 197

The *-k*-marked NPs, can also, in some cases, be interpreted as possessors:

(2.41)

|       |       |             |
|-------|-------|-------------|
| chi   | wasi  | Pedro-k=mi  |
| D.DEM | house | NAME-BEN=mi |

‘This house is Pedro’s.’

el\_12092013 193

The same benefactive and possessive relationships are expressed in (2.40) and (2.42) on the one hand, and (2.41) and (2.43) on the other. Consider:

(2.42)

|       |      |        |              |        |
|-------|------|--------|--------------|--------|
| kay   | ñuka | yaya   | / *yaya-j    | killka |
| P.DEM | 1SG  | father | / father-BEN | letter |

‘This my a letter to my father.’

elicited

(2.43)

|       |       |            |          |
|-------|-------|------------|----------|
| chi   | Pedru | / *Pedru-j | wasi=mi  |
| D.DEM | NAME  | / NAME-BEN | house=mi |

‘This is Pedro’s house.’

el\_12092013 194

The examples above suggest that the benefactive-marked NPs are ungrammatical as modifiers within a noun phrase, but this conclusion should be corroborated with further data. When the BEN marker occurs on adjunct NPs, it can be combined with GEN:

(2.44)

aku-ychi                      Klever-ba-k-ma  
 go.IMP-2SG.IMP      NAME-GEN-BEN-DAT  
 ‘Let’s go to Klever’s!’

attested

At this stage of analysis, not enough data is available to explain the interaction between GEN and BEN marking. The possessive meaning shown in (2.44) can also arise without the GEN:

(2.45)

ñuka              mamita              Maria-j-ma                      pasia-ngaj      ri-ka  
 1SG              mommy              NAME-BEN-DAT              visit-PURP      go-PST  
 ‘My mommy went to Maria’s to visit.’

attested

Most of the examples above show the BEN marker occurring on phrases designating possessors, rather than beneficiaries. Whether the BEN-affixed NP is interpreted as possessor or beneficiary seems to be dependent on the argument structure of the verb with which it occurs:

(2.46)

Pablo              wasi-ra              ra-n              Maria-k-ta  
 NAME              house -ACC      make -3              NAME-BEN-ACC  
 ‘Pablo makes a house for Maria.’

e1\_310502013\_1 245

At this stage of analysis, it seems justified to gloss /-k/ as a benefactive marker. However, more research is needed to establish its exact semantic contribution to the clause.

### 2.3.2.3.6 Locative: *-pi*

The TK Locative has three allomorphs: [-bi] after nasals, [-y] – postvocally and after approximants, and [-pi] in all other contexts. The Locative marking is used in constructions indicating location in space, as in (2.47) and time, as in (2.48):

(2.47)

|              |                |               |                 |               |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <i>Maria</i> | <i>kaspiwa</i> | <i>wajtan</i> | <i>Wandzura</i> | <i>wasiy.</i> |
| Maria        | kaspi-wa       | wajta-n       | Juan -ta        | wasi -pi      |
| NAME         | stick -INSTR   | hit -3        | NAME-ACC        | house-LOC     |

‘Maria hits Juan with a stick in the house.’

el\_310502013\_1 144

(2.48)

|             |                 |             |                |
|-------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>kuna</i> | <i>pundzay,</i> | <i>kuna</i> | <i>chishiy</i> |
| kuna        | pundza-pi       | kuna        | chishi-pi      |
| today       | day-LOC         | today       | afternoon-LOC  |

‘on this day, this afternoon’ [fragment of a wedding song]

attested

The LOC can also indicate ‘metaphorical’ locations:

(2.49)

|            |                  |             |                    |                  |                |
|------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| <i>Ima</i> | <i>wataraga,</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>castellanoy</i> | <i>rimanachu</i> | <i>ningui?</i> |
| ima        | wata-ta=ga       | mana        | castellano-pi      | rima-na=chu      | ni-ngui        |
| what       | year-ACC=ga      | NEG         | Spanish-LOC        | talk-INF=Q/NEG   | say-2          |

‘What about the year, you say [I] should not to say [the date] in Spanish?’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 008

The use of *-pi* in (2.49) is analogous to that of the Spanish locative preposition *en* (‘in’), but it is not clear at this stage of research whether such uses of the TK locative result from language contact.

### 2.3.2.3.7 Causalis: *-raygu*

The Causalis is semantically similar to the Ablative *manda*: it can also indicate cause or reason. However, it seems to be used less frequently than the Ablative. often

occurs in content questions, and – in collocation with a demonstrative pronoun – as a causal connective:

(2.50)

Ima-raygu ?

what-CAUSAL

‘Why?’

attested

(2.51) = (4.40)

*Ashka llanganarami charini, chiraygumi mana ushani.*

ashka llanga-na-ta=mi chari-ni chi-raygu=mi mana usha-ni.

much work-INF-ACC=mi have -1 D.DEM-CAUSAL=mi NEG can -1

‘I have a lot of work, that is why I cannot (do this).’

el\_02102013 191

While the Ablative suffix is used to indicate both spacial and causal relations, the Causalis is limited to the latter. It is also used in certain adverbial clause constructions (see 2.5.3.2.3).

#### 2.3.2.3.8 Lative/Delimitative -gama

The Lative is pronounced [-kama] by speakers more influenced by Unified Kichwa.

It is used to indicate temporal or spatial boundaries:

(2.52)

shu pundza-gama

one day-LAT

‘see you tomorrow’ [lit. until tomorrow]

attested

(2.53)

Ña, chi-gama ña alli tupu yachin...

well D.DEM-LAT well good size seem-3

‘Right, it seems it’s ok until here [up to this height].’

in\_24092014\_01 070

The LAT marker is also used in adverbial clause constructions (see Section 2.5.3.2.3).

## 2.4 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology is the feature of the grammar reported to vary the most between the different Quechuan dialects (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 209). The discussion in this section aims to clarify the main features of TK verbal morphology, but an exhaustive account of the morphological complexity of the TK verbs is beyond the scope of this work. Figure 2.2 illustrates the ordering of the different types of affixes which can attach to TK verbs in the indicative mood. The criteria applied here to distinguish between derivation and inflection are the same as those presented in the discussion of nominal morphology in Section 2.3.

**Figure 2.2 Ordering of TK verbal affixes**

| Stem |                       |                            | Inflection |        |                   | Independent<br>enclitics |
|------|-----------------------|----------------------------|------------|--------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| ROOT | Derivation            |                            | Object     | Aspect | Tense/<br>Subject |                          |
|      | Valence<br>adjustment | Aktionsart<br>modification |            |        |                   |                          |
|      |                       |                            |            |        |                   |                          |

The ordering of TK verbal affixes is not always as clear-cut as Figure 2.2 might suggest. For instance, subject agreement and Tense marking, placed in the same inflectional ‘slot’ on the diagram, can in some cases be monoexponential.

In the sections that follow, I discuss TK derivational (2.4.1) and inflectional (2.4.2) morphology. The discussion of derivation includes the markers shown in Figure 2.2, as well as nominalising morphology. The latter is not reflected above, since it does not co-occur with verbal inflection. In the discussion of inflection, I first focus on the agreement phenomena, describing the TK subject and object agreement marking. Subsequently, I discuss Tense, Aspect and Mood.

As shown in Figure 2.1, the final slot is occupied by independent, ‘class free’ (cf. Adelaar 1977) clitics. As mentioned previously, they attach to hosts from all grammatical categories. These enclitics are the main topic of this thesis, and are discussed from Chapter 3 onwards.

## 2.4.1 Derivation

The most prominent verbal derivation processes in TK are valence-adjustment, Aktionsart-modification and nominalisation. Valence-adjustment alters the semantics of verbs, influencing the number of arguments they require (2.4.1.1). Aktionsart-affecting suffixes are a poorly described aspect of morphology of Quechuan languages, and I mention them briefly below, indicating the need for further research (2.4.1.2). The discussion of Nominalisation (2.4.1.3) is limited to lexical nominalisation, that is, to morphological ‘processes of forming nouns from lexical verbs’ (cf. Comrie & Thompson 2007).

### 2.4.1.1 Valence adjustment

Valence adjustment can be of two kinds – either decreasing, or increasing the number of arguments required by the verb. I describe the valence-decreasing processes first (2.4.1.1.1), and then turn to valence-increasing suffixation (2.4.1.1.2).

#### 2.4.1.1.1 Anticausative/Reflexive -ri-

In transitive predicates, the suffix *-ri-* removes the agentive subject and promotes the patient to the subject role. It tends to occur on transitive verbs expressing actions ‘performed without any specific instruments or methods, so that they can be thought of as happening spontaneously, without a (human) agent’s intervention’ (Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2005: 5). Consider:

(2.54)

- a. [Juan ]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [pantalon-da ]<sub>DIR OBJ</sub> liki-shka  
 NAME trousers-ACC rip -ANT  
 ‘Juan has ripped [the] trousers.’

el\_310502013\_1 386

- b. *Juanba pantalón likirishkami /\*likishkami*  
 [Juan-pa pantalón]<sub>SUBJ</sub> liki-ri-shka=mi / \*liki-shka=mi  
 Juan-GEN trousers rip-ANTIC-ANT=mi / rip-ANT=mi  
 ‘Juan’s trousers have torn.’

el\_310502013\_1 392



In (2.54a) *liki-* ('to rip') is a transitive verb root. Its transitivity is also shown by the fact that it is not grammatical in the intransitive predicate in (2.54a). In (2.54b) the stem *likiri-* ('to break') only requires one patient-like argument. The suffix *-ri-* eliminates the agentive subject, rather than demoting it, which is the operation characteristic of passives (cf. Haspelmath & Müller-Bardey 2005:16). This 'agent elimination' is shown both in (2.54) and in (2.55):

(2.55)

- a. [ñuka]<sub>SUBJ</sub>      [pay-ta    ]<sub>DIR OBJ</sub>      riku-ni  
      1SG                3SG-ACC                see-1  
      'I see him/her.'

elicited

- b. *Yolandawa      ushi                      paykwintallara                      rikurin.*  
      [Yolanda-pa    ushi            ]<sub>SUBJ</sub>    pay-kwinta=llara                      riku-ri-n  
      NAME-GEN    daughter                3SG-SEMBL=ID.REF                see-ANTIC-3  
      'Yolanda's<sub>i</sub> daughter looks like her<sub>i</sub>.'

eI\_12092013    238

In (2.55a), the transitive verb root *riku-* ('to see') takes two arguments: an agentive subject, and a direct object, with the semantic role of theme. In (2.55b), the same verb occurs with the ANTIC suffix, which affects the valence of the verb and prompts a change in its argument structure. For (2.54b), it could be argued that the subject was acted upon by another entity, not expressed overtly. This is not the case in (2.55b). The verb stem *rikuri-* ('to look like') only requires one, theme-like argument. The examples above show that *-ri-* can be interpreted as ANTIC when occurring on transitive verbs. However, the data suggest that it behaves differently on ditransitive predicates. When occurring on a ditransitive verb, *-ri-* also removes the agent, but the derived transitive verb can have an agentive subject. Consider:

(2.56)

- a. Pablo                      paywa      warmira  
      [Pablo    ]<sub>SUBJ</sub>    [pay-pa      warmi-ta      ]<sub>DIR OBJ</sub>  
      NAME                3SG-GEN woman-ACC

usara aysawn.  
 [usa-ta ]<sub>INDIR OBJ</sub> aysa-w-n  
 louse-ACC pull-PROG-3  
 ‘Pablo is delousing his wife/ridding his wife of lice.’

- b. [Pablo warmi ]<sub>SUBJ</sub> [usa-ra ]<sub>DIR OBJ</sub> aysa-ri-w-n  
 NAME woman lice-ACC pull-ANTIC-PROG-3  
 ‘Pablo’s wife is delousing herself/ridding herself of lice.’

in\_21102014\_01

While (2.56) shows that *-ri-* is used to decrease the valence of the verb, it seems that the English translation fails to reflect the argument structure of the TK verb. More research is needed into the occurrences of *-ri-* on ditransitive predicates and the argument structure of the transitive predicates it derives.

#### 2.4.1.1.2 Causative suffix *-chi-*

The causative suffix *-chi-* increases the valence of the verb, adding an argument with the semantic role of agent/causer. Consider:

(2.57)

- a. ñuka liba-ka-ni  
 1SG be.punished-PST-1  
 ‘I was punished/hit.’
- b. *Maria Juanda libachin.*  
 Maria Juan-ta liba -chi -n  
 NAME NAME-ACC be.punished-CAUS-3  
 ‘Maria punishes/hits Juan (lit. Maria causes Juan to be punished).’

elicited

Example (2.57) is somewhat particular, since the verb root *liba-* ‘to be punished’ is a lexical passive. However, the above does show that when occurring on intransitive verbs, *-chi-* increases their valence and expresses an immediate causal relation, where no third event intervenes between the cause and the effect (e.g. Fodor 1970): (2.57b) could not be used if Maria convinced someone else to hit Juan, rather than

doing it herself. The causative suffix can also occur on transitive verbs to express immediate causation:

(2.58)

- a. Nilo Quito llakta-ra riksi-n  
 NAME NAME town-ACC know-3  
 ‘Nilo knows the city of Quito.’
- b. Nilo Quito llakta-ra pay-wa warmi-ra riksi-chi-w-n  
 NAME NAME town-ACC 3SG-GEN woman-ACC know-CAUS-PROG-3  
 ‘Nilo is showing Quito to his wife (lit. causing her to know Quito).’

el\_21102014\_01

The currently available data suggest that *-chi-* cannot be used to express non-immediate causation, which is expressed in TK by means of periphrastic constructions, rather than verbal derivation.

#### 2.4.1.2 Aktionsart-affecting derivation

In this section I discuss several suffixes that seem to affect the lexical aspect of verbs they attach to. These suffixes – apart from the Cislocative *-mu-* – have, as far as I am aware, not been described for other Quechuan varieties. The following affixes of this type have been attested in the TK data:

- i. *-mu* – Cislocative: when added to a verb of motion, indicates movement towards the speaker and/or the hearer, so in this case, it does not affect Aktionsart as much as the associated motion. On non-motion verbs, however, it indicates movement to a location distant from the speaker and hearer, where the action/state designated by the verb occurs (cf. Manley et al. 2015: 10-11).
- ii. *-sta* – indicates that the action is sudden and abrupt, not necessarily brought to completion.
- iii. *-ju* – indicates that the action is either repetitive, or ongoing.

While *-mu* has occurred in the corpus numerous times, the other two affixes are extremely infrequent. Hence the scarcity of examples provided in this section.

There are several reasons to analyse these suffixes as derivational, rather than aspectual. Firstly, they can co-occur on the same host. Consider:

(2.59)

- a. *Upi!*  
drink  
'Drink!'
- b. *Upi-sta-y!*  
drink-sta-2SG.IMP  
'Drink quickly!'
- c. *Upi-sta-ju-y!*  
drink-sta-ju-2SG.IMP  
'Keep drinking quickly!' (e.g. shot by shot)

attested

Secondly, nominalising morphology, e.g. the agentive suffix *-k* (see Section 2.4.1.3.1), attaches after them, which suggests that they are part of the stem:

(2.60)

Mana apa-mu-k                      a-ni,    ñuka ña    basta    wasi    chi-wa...  
NEG take-mu-AG.NMZL COP-1 1SG already enough house D.DEM-INSTR  
'I used not to bring [chicha from the field], with that [what I had already, I had]  
enough at home.'

in\_25052013\_1\_01 185

Moreover, the suffixes described here co-occur with the Progressive aspect suffix *-w*, which confirms that they should be analysed as derivation affecting the lexical aspect of the verb, rather than as aspectual inflection:

(2.61)

rima-mu-w-n  
talk-CIS-PROG-3  
'he passes by, talking...' [speaker talks about the fishseller's truck. The merchant advertises the fish with loudspeakers as he passes by.]

in\_01082013\_16 048

Example (2.61) shows the occurrence of *-mu* on a non-motion verb, corroborating the analysis of the marker proposed above. Much further research is needed to provide a complete description of this class of affixes. The aim of the remarks presented here was to show that they are attested in TK, and to give the reader a preliminary idea of their semantics.

### 2.4.1.3 Lexical nominalisation

In this section, I only discuss nominalisation inasmuch as ‘processes of forming nouns from lexical verbs’ are concerned (cf. Comrie & Thompson 2007). In TK and other Quechuan varieties, nominalising suffixes also play an important role in complex clauses, where they act as subordinators; clausal nominalisation is discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.3.2.

#### 2.4.1.3.1 Agentive nominalisation: *-k*

Agentive nominalisation is a process which derives a nominal denoting ‘one which verbs’ from the corresponding verb (cf. Comrie & Thompson 2007: 336). This is the function of the suffix discussed here. Consider:

(2.62)

|        |       |                   |
|--------|-------|-------------------|
| Nestor | an    | yacha-chi-k.      |
| NAME   | COP-3 | know-CAUS-AG.NMZL |

‘Nestor is a teacher [lit. the one who teaches/causes to learn].’

eI\_12092013 077

Many de-verbal agentive nouns have become lexicalised in TK. Common examples of the use of this suffix are the nouns *yachachik* (*yacha-chi-k*, know-CAUSE-AG.NMLZ), shown above, and *yachak* (*yacha-k*, know-AG.NMLZ), meaning ‘wise person’. These examples also show that nominals derived with the suffix *-k* denote agents who habitually perform the action indicated by the verb (‘teacher’), or can be said to be characterised by a certain state involving that verb (‘a wise man’). De-verbal nouns created with *-k* are also used in present and past habitual constructions, discussed in more detail in Sections 2.4.2.2.1 and 2.4.2.2.2, respectively.

#### 2.4.1.3.2 Objective nominalisation: -y

I understand objective nominalisation as morphological forming of de-verbal nouns designating a result, or the typical object of an action (Comrie & Thompson 2007: 340). In TK, a morpheme that serves this function is the nominalising suffix -y. Compare the two examples of the use of the root *iya* below:

(2.63)

|                    |                       |                 |              |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Ansawallara</i> | <i>ganawshas,</i>     | <i>ñukanchi</i> | <i>chita</i> |
| ansa-wa=lla-ta     | gana-w-sha=pas        | ñukanchi        | chi-ta       |
| much-INSTR=LIM-ACC | earn-PROG-COR=ADD 1PL |                 | D.DEM-ACC    |

|                         |                 |            |                |
|-------------------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|
| <i>iyarishkanchi,</i>   | <i>ñukanchi</i> | <i>shu</i> | <i>algu...</i> |
| <b>iya-ri-shka-nchi</b> | ñukanchi        | shu        | algu           |
| think-ANTIC-ANT-1PL     | 1PL             | one        | something      |

‘Although we just earn a little, we thought this, we [to have] something...’

in\_03072013\_02 016

(2.64)

|                 |                    |                         |            |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------|
| <i>ñukanchi</i> | <i>llanga-na-y</i> | <i>chari-shka-nchi,</i> | <i>ama</i> |
| 1PL             | work-INF-LOC       | have-ANT-1PL            | PROH       |

|             |                                |                     |
|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>shuk</i> | <i>iya-y-guna-ra</i>           | <i>chura-sha...</i> |
| one         | think- <b>OBJ.NMLZ</b> -PL-ACC | put-COR             |

‘we have [our minds busy] at work, so as not to have other ideas [alcohol/drugs]’

in\_03072013\_02 17

In (2.63) *iya-* (‘to think’) functions as the main verb, whereas in (2.64) it is nominalised and becomes an argument of the verb, *chari-* (‘to have’). Although ‘an idea’ is not strictly speaking ‘an object of thinking’, the definition provided by Comrie and Thompson (2007) is broad enough to allow for this type of derivation to be regarded as ‘objective’ nominalisation.

#### 2.4.1.3.3 Infinitive -na

In Ecuadorian Quechua studies, the suffix */-na/* is traditionally glossed as infinitive. In other Quechuan dialects, including Bolivian and Peruvian varieties, the infinitive

morpheme is /-y/. While the TK verb stems suffixed with *-na* preserve certain verbal properties, such as taking direct objects, they can also function as arguments of other verbs. Both these properties are shown below:

(2.65)

|         |         |                |                      |
|---------|---------|----------------|----------------------|
| Abigail | yacha-n | killka-shka-ra | riku- <b>na</b> -ra  |
| NAME    | learn-3 | letter-ANT-ACC | see- <b>INF</b> -ACC |

‘Abigail learns to read [lit. to read that what has been written].’

el\_310502013\_1 470

In the example above, *riku-na* (see-INF, ‘seeing, reading’) - takes a (de-verbal) object in the Accusative case, but is itself a complement of the main verb *yacha-n* (learn-3) – the only verb in the clause inflected for person and tense (Present is zero-marked in TK, see Section 2.4.2.2.1). Compare (2.65) with (2.55a), where *riku-* (‘to see’) is used as the main verb.

The suffix *-na* is used extensively in everyday discourse. Lexical items derived with *-na* usually receive the interpretation of a state or a process, e.g. *kuya-na* (give-INF) ‘the act of giving’, *picha-na* (sweep-3) ‘the act of sweeping’. However, object interpretation is also possible: *miku-na* (eat-INF) tends to be interpreted as ‘food’, rather than ‘the act of eating’:

(2.66)

|                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| miku- <b>na</b> -ra  | yanu-shka=chu ? |
| eat- <b>INF</b> -ACC | cook-ANT=Q/NEG  |

‘Did [you] cook [the/any] food?’

attested

Semantic intuitions about this kind of distinction are hard to elicit, and the syntactic behavior of verb roots affixed with *-na* seems to vary across lexical items, perhaps in relation to how often they are used in everyday discourse and which of the two interpretations – the process/action or the object – is more salient in a given situation.

The discussion above is limited to suffixes the main function of which is deriving nouns from lexical verbs. Nonetheless, TK suffixes encoding Aspect or Tense values,

such as the Progressive *-w* and the Anterior *-shka*, can also be used in lexical nominalisations. I describe their nominalising function in the discussion of relative clauses, to which it is more relevant than to lexical nominalisation (see Section 2.5.3.2.1).

## 2.4.2 Inflection

This section describes TK verbal inflection. Firstly, I discuss the patterns of subject and object agreement (2.4.2.1). Following on from that, I discuss the morphological marking of Tense (2.4.2.2), Aspect (2.4.2.3) and Mood (2.4.2.4).

### 2.4.2.1 Agreement

TK agreement morphology is less complex than that of Quechuan dialects spoken in Peru. The ‘conservative’ Peruvian QI varieties (cf. e.g. Adelaar 1977: 91), and the QII varieties spoken in Peru and Bolivia (cf. e.g. Adelaar & Muysken 2004), exhibit an elaborate system of marking subject and object agreement verbs are marked for four persons (Adelaar with Muysken 2004: 211; Adelaar 1977: sec.18), distinguished on the basis of (non-)inclusion of speaker or addressee. TK and other Ecuadorian varieties (cf. Muysken 1977; Cole 1982; Jake 1985) differ from QI in this respect. TK exhibits a three-person system and distinguishes two numbers: singular and plural. TK main verbs obligatorily agree with their subjects for person and number. Residual object agreement is also present. The TK object and subject agreement marking is discussed in turn below. Agreement phenomena occurring on the clausal level are discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.1.

#### 2.4.2.1.1 Object marking

As mentioned above, the TK object agreement system is residual. Verbs optionally agree with their objects. The agreement is only possible in case of 1SG objects, and is marked by means of the suffix *-wa-* (1SG.OBJ). Consider:

(2.67)

|              |                |           |                           |
|--------------|----------------|-----------|---------------------------|
| kay-manda=ga | <b>ñuka-ra</b> | shina     | apa- <b>wa</b> -nun       |
| P.DEM-ABL=ga | <b>1SG-ACC</b> | like.this | take- <b>1SG.OBJ</b> -3PL |

‘from here, they took me like this....’

in\_25052013\_01 369



In (2.67), the verb agrees both with the 3PL subject, which is not overtly realised in the clause, and with the 1SG direct object, realised as a pronominal phrase. Analogous examples in (2.68) show that the marker *-wa-* can only be used with 1SG objects, and that it is not grammatically obligatory:

(2.68)

- a. \*Kaymandaga, kanda / payta /ñukanchira  
 kay-manda=ga kan-ta / pay-ta /ñukanchi-ta  
 P.DEM-ABL=ga 2SG-ACC / 3SG-ACC /1PL -ACC

shina apawanun.

shina apa-wa-nun

like.this take-1SG.OBJ-3PL

Intended: ‘From here, they took you/him/her/us like this.’

- b. kay-manda=ga ñuka-ra / pay-ta shina apa-nun  
 P.DEM-ABL=ga 1SG-ACC / 3SG-ACC like.this take-3PL  
 ‘From here, the took me/him/her like this.’

elicited

The only difference between the examples above is the presence of the object marker. Example (2.68a) shows the incompatibility of *-wa* with direct objects which are not 1SG, while (2.68b) demonstrates that the verb-object agreement is not obligatory in TK even when it is grammatically possible. Speakers generally judge both versions of 1SG object clauses grammatical. Whether the choice to use or drop the 1SG.OBJ marker varies according to social factors such as age or place of origin would require a further sociolinguistic study.

The suffix *-wa-* can function as an incorporated object pronoun. Consider:

(2.69)

- a. Pedro=mi uma-y wakta-**wa**-ka  
 NAME =mi head-LOC hit-**1SG.OBJ**-PST
- b. Pedro=mi ñuka-ra uma-y wakta-**wa**-ka  
 NAME =mi 1PRO-ACC head-LOC hit-**1SG.OBJ**-PST

- c.    Pedro=mi                      ñuka-ra              uma-y              wakta-ka  
        NAME=mi                      1PRO-ACC    head-LOC       hit-PST

‘Pedro hit me on the head.’

el\_12092013 219

All three examples in (2.69) are grammatical utterances of the same proposition. Example (2.69a) shows that *-wa-* functions as an incorporated object pronoun, making the overt expression of the direct object unnecessary, though, as shown in (2.69b), not ungrammatical. As shown in (2.69c), the direct object of the transitive predicate needs to be overtly expressed in the absence of object marking on the verb, unless understood from the discourse context. This is further confirmed in (2.70):

(2.70)

- a.    Pedro=mi                      Karolina-ra              uma-y              wakta-shka.  
        NAME=mi                      NAME-ACC              head-LOC       hit-ANT

‘Pedro hit Karolina on the head.’

- b.    \*Pedro=mi                      uma-y              wakta-shka.  
        Pedro =mi                      head-LOC       hit-ANT

el\_12092013 221

Example (2.70a) is analogous to (2.69c). The fact that (2.70b) is ungrammatical shows that in the absence of object agreement on the verb, the direct object needs to be expressed overtly. The difference in tense marking between (2.69) and (2.70) is not relevant to object marking, and is discussed in more detail in Section 2.4.2.2.3.

In all the examples above, object marking on the verb was triggered by 1SG direct objects. However, 1SG indirect objects can also trigger the occurrence of *-wa-*:

(2.71)

- |                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Ñukama</i>                   | <i>ñuka warmira</i>                 |
| [Ñuka-ma ] <sub>INDIR OBJ</sub> | [ñuka warmi-ta ] <sub>DIR OBJ</sub> |
| 1SG-DAT                         | 1SG woman-ACC                       |

|             |                |                               |             |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| <i>ñuka</i> | <i>yayawna</i> | <i>kuwanushka</i>             | <i>aka.</i> |
| [ñuka       | yaya-guna]     | ku- <b>wa</b> -nushka         | a-ka        |
| 1SG         | father-PL      | give- <b>1SG.OBJ</b> -3PL.ANT | be-3        |

‘My parents gave me my wife.’

el\_10122014\_01

Note that although (2.71) might resemble a passive construction, the subject agreement on the verb shows that ‘parents’ are the subject. The 1SG argument bears the semantic role of recipient, and is the indirect object of the verb, but still triggers object agreement.

#### 2.4.2.1.2 *Subject marking*

In TK and other Ecuadorian varieties, while object agreement is optional, fully inflected verbs must agree with their subjects (cf. Cole 1982). In the present work, I regard verbs as finite if they are inflected for both subject and Tense. Nonetheless, this is a potentially problematic assumption, since present tense, and 3SG subjects in the past and anterior tenses are zero-marked in TK (see Table 2.4 below). In Highland Ecuadorian Quechua, subject marking in non-present tenses is conveyed by cumulative morphemes indicating both person and time reference (Muysken 1977). In the TK subject agreement paradigm, only 3PL subject agreement markers could be analysed as cumulative. Table 2.4 illustrates the TK paradigm of subject and tense marking, on the example of the intransitive verb *shamu-* (‘to come’) in the indicative mood.

**Table 2.4 TK subject agreement paradigm**

| <b>TENSE</b><br><br><b>PERSON</b><br>(pronoun) | <b>PRESENT</b><br>(zero-marked)<br><br>v-SUBJ | <b>PAST</b><br>(-ka)<br><br>v-PST-SUBJ | <b>ANTERIOR</b><br>(-shka)<br><br>v-ANT-SUBJ | <b>FUTURE</b><br>-nga (+ AUX)<br><br>v-FUT<br>AUX-PROG-<br>SUBJ          |
|--|---|--|--|--|
| 1SG (ñuka)                                     | shamu- <b>ni</b>                              | shamu-ka- <b>ni</b>                    | shamu-shka- <b>ni</b>                        | shamu-nga<br>ra-w- <b>ni</b>   |
| 2SG (kan)                                      | shamu- <b>ngui</b>                            | shamu-ka- <b>ngui</b>                  | shamu-shka- <b>ngui</b>                      | shamu-nga<br>ra-w- <b>ngui</b>   |
| 3SG (pay)                                      | shamu- <b>n</b>                               | shamu-ka- $\emptyset$ *                | shamu-shka- $\emptyset$ *                    | shamu-nga<br>ra-w- <b>n</b>  |
| 1PL<br>(ñukanchi)                              | shamu- <b>nchi</b>                            | shamu-ka- <b>nchi</b>                  | shamu-shka-nchi                              | shamu-nga<br>ra-w- <b>nchi</b>   |
| 2PL (kanguna)                                  | shamu- <b>nguichi</b>                         | shamu-ka- <b>nguichi</b>               | shamu-shka- <b>nguichi</b>                   | shamu-nga<br>ra-w- <b>nguichi</b>  |
| 3PL (payguna)                                  | shamu- <b>nun</b> /<br>shamu- <b>nawn</b> *   | shamu- <b>nuka</b> *                   | shamu- <b>nushka</b> *                       | shamu-nga<br>ra- <b>nun</b> /<br>ra- <b>nawn</b> /<br>ra- <b>yanun</b> * |

As evident from Table 2.4, the TK subject agreement paradigm exhibits certain idiosyncrasies, which have been marked with ‘\*’ in the relevant cells. The first person singular and plural, and second person singular and plural markers adhere to the regular pattern. The third person subject marking, both in singular and plural, exhibits certain alternations from the regular pattern. I discuss them in turn below.

As for 3SG subject marking, on verbs in present and future tense, 3SG subject marking is indicated by means of the suffix *-n*. However, in past and anterior tenses, 3SG is zero-marked (the subject agreement suffix is marked by  $\emptyset$ ).

For 3PL subjects, the situation is more complex. In the present tense, 3PL subject agreement is marked by the suffix *-nun*, which is also realised as [-nawn] by some speakers. The variation in the pronunciation of the suffix can also occur in the speech of the same speaker, and its conditioning factors remain to be investigated. The same

applies to the variation in the 3PL subject affixes in the future tense, where for 3PL subjects the auxiliary occurs without the progressive suffix *-w*.

In the past and anterior tenses, 3PL subjects are marked by the suffixes *-nuka* and *-nushka*, respectively. These two suffixes could be analysed either as cumulative expression of person and tense, or be regarded as di-morphemic: *-nu-ka*, and *-nu-shka*, where *-nu* could be analysed as 3PL marker. The suffix *-nu* also forms part of the other 3PL.SUBJ suffixes shown above, and occurs in other constructions involving 3PL subjects. Such interpretation, however, would introduce redundancy in the glossing of the tense-neutral 3PL marker *-nun*, which would have to be analysed as *-nu-n* (3PL-3). It would also alter the ordering of TK verbal suffixes; in all other cases subject marking precedes tense marking (see Figure 2.2), and analysing *-nu* as a separate subject marker would introduce a reverse situation. Therefore, I choose to analyse 3PL.SUBJ markers discussed above as cumulative expressions of person and tense. However, the grammatical status of *[-nu]* should be investigated in the future.

#### **2.4.2.2 Tense**

Morphologically, TK exhibits a four-way distinction between Past, Anterior, Present and Future tense. No remoteness distinctions occur in either of the tenses. As shown in Table 2.4 above, Present is zero-marked, while Past, Anterior and Future are marked by means of dedicated affixes. In the following sections, I discuss the properties of the four tenses introduced above.

##### *2.4.2.2.1 Present*

TK Present tense describes situations of several aspectual types (Bybee et al. 1994: 140):

- i. states that obtain at the moment of speaking (S);
- ii. activities, accomplishments, semelfactives or achievements occurring habitually, if the habit is sustained at S;
- iii. ‘gnomic’ situations that apply to generic subjects and hold for all time (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 126);
- iv. activities, accomplishments, semelfactives and achievements performed at S.

These situations can be expressed in TK either with the zero-marked present, or by the progressive marker *-w* (see Section 2.4.2.3.1). The examples below illustrate the different aspectual types of situations encoded by TK Present:

(2.72)

rupa-chi-n

hot-CAUS-3

‘It is hot.’

el\_310502013\_1 006

(2.73)

Juan            aycha-manda            yacha-n

NAME            animal-ABL            know-3

‘Juan knows [a lot] about animals.’

el\_310502013\_1 455

Examples (2.72) and (2.73) are examples of states that exist at the moment of speaking. If the situation that holds at S is dynamic, it is expressed with the PROG marker *-w*. In the absence of progressive marking, present tense dynamic predicates receive a habitual interpretation:

(2.74)

a.    Maria            Juan-da            wajta-n

NAME            NAME-ACC    hit    -3

‘Maria hits Juan (habitually).’ / # ‘Maria is hitting Juan (now).’

el\_310502013\_1 118

b.    Eric            wawa-guna-ra            wajta-w-n

NAME child-PL-ACC            hit-PROG-3

‘Eric is hitting the children.’ / # ‘Eric hits the children (habitually).’

attested

(2.75)

Juan            ashka aycha-ra            wan-chi-n

NAME            much animal-ACC    die-CAUS-3

‘Juan kills many animals.’ / ‘Juan is a good hunter’

el\_310502013\_1 457

States that exist at the moment of speaking (S), as well as habits sustained at S, can be described by two types of constructions. The first option is a verbal predicate with the zero-marked present, shown in (2.74a) and (2.75). The second possibility is a nominal predicate, in which the agentive nominaliser *-k* (see Section 2.4.1.3.1) is used with the (often elided) copula *a-* ‘to be’ in the present tense:

(2.76)

Pay ashka yacha-k=mi [ a-n ], chi-raygu=mi  
 3SG much know-AG.NMLZ=mi [ COP-3] D.DEM-CAUSAL=mi

pay-wa iya-y-ra maña-nun  
 3SG-GEN think-OBJ.NMLZ-ACC ask -3PL

‘He is very wise, that is why [people] ask his advice.’

el\_31052013\_01

(2.77)

Juan ashka aycha-ra wan-chi-k=mi,  
 NAME much animal-ACC die-CAUS-AG.NMLZ=mi

chi-raygu yarka-y-ra mana tia-n  
 DIST.DEM-CAUSAL be.hungry-OBJ.NMLZ-ACC NEG be-3

‘Juan kills a lot of animals/is a good hunter, that is why he does not go hungry.’

el\_31052013\_01

Example (2.76) illustrates a state that exists at S, while (2.77) shows a habitual situation, where the habit is sustained at the moment of speaking. Analogous constructions with the copula taking the PST affix *-ka* describe the states that used to hold in the past, or past habitual situations (see Section 2.4.2.2.2).

In addition to the above, zero-marked present is also used in gnomic sentences:

(2.78)

allku-guna chupa-ra chari-nun.  
 dog-PL tail-ACC have-3PL

‘Dogs have tails.’

el\_21092014\_01 065

Present tense is often used with past time reference, when the temporal reference is clear from the discourse context:

(2.79)

llakta-ngak            kallari-**nun**.... iskwila    mushu, iskwila    paska-ri-ka            ña,  
 build.town-PURP    begin-**3PL**    school    new    school    open-ANTIC-PST    well  
 ‘They started to build communities, a school, (they) opened a new school, well...’

in\_07062013\_01    153

In (2.79), the main verb of the first clause, *kallari-* (‘to begin’) is cast in the Present, while the main verb of the second clause: *paska-* (‘to open’) is affixed with the Past -*ka*. Since the narrative is anchored in the past, both clauses receive a Past tense interpretation. A similar situation obtains for future contexts:

(2.80)

Juan,            pantalon-da            liki-ngui=mi!  
 NAME            trousers-ACC            rip-2=mi  
 ‘Juan, you’ll rip your trousers!’

el\_310502013\_1 388

The utterance above uses present tense inflection, but conveys a warning about an imminent future situation.

To sum up, the zero-marked TK Present is used to describe situations of different aspectual types, including states that obtain at S, habitual situations where S is included in the timespan of the habit, or gnomic situations. Dynamic situations carried out at S are described with the use of progressive aspect marking, rather than by zero-marked present. Present tense can also be used to describe past and future situations, when the temporal reference is clear from the utterance context.

#### 2.4.2.2.2 Past: -ka

In this section, I discuss the distribution and syntactic properties of the Past tense suffix -*ka*. I consider the suffix -*nuka* (3PL.PST) to be the part of the -*ka* paradigm (see Table 2.4 above). The TK Past tense describes actions that occurred prior to the moment of speaking, and that have no present relevance. The PST marker -*ka* co-occurs with time adverbials such as *kuna* ‘today’, *tutamanda* (‘in the morning’), *kuna*



*chishi* ('this afternoon'), *kayna* ('yesterday'), *ñawpa/ñawpa ura* ('formerly/in the old days'). This proves that the suffix can be used to with events occurring at a specific point in the past. Moreover, the co-occurrence of *-ka* with such a range of time adverbials confirms that TK makes no remoteness distinctions in the Past.

The marker *-ka* is compatible with different aspectual types of situations: states (2.81), activities (2.82), accomplishments (2.83), semelfactives (2.84) and achievements (2.85):

(2.81)

|        |      |        |           |
|--------|------|--------|-----------|
| Ñawpa  | ura  | aycha  | tia-ka    |
| former | time | animal | exist-PST |

'In the old days, there were [many] animals.'

el\_12092013 094

(2.82)

|       |             |           |
|-------|-------------|-----------|
| Pedro | boda-y      | baila-ka  |
| NAME  | wedding-LOC | dance-PST |

'Pedro danced at a wedding.'

el\_310502013\_1 654

(2.83)

|                    |               |                                  |                |                 |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Santa Rosay</i> | <i>wasira</i> | <i>rarkanchi</i> , <sup>16</sup> | <i>escuela</i> | <i>wasira</i> . |
| Santa Rosa-pi      | wasi-ta       | ra-ka-nchi                       | escuela        | wasi-ta         |
| NAME NAME-LOC      | wasi-ACC      | make-PST-1PL                     | school         | house-ACC       |

'We made a building in Santa Rosa, a school building.'

in\_07062013\_01 154

(2.84) = (2.69)

|          |          |              |
|----------|----------|--------------|
| Pedro=mi | uma-y    | wakta-wa-ka  |
| NAME=mi  | head-LOC | hit-1OBJ-PST |

'Pedro hit me on the head.'

el\_12092013 219

<sup>16</sup> Some speakers from Pano, a town adjacent to Tena, pronounce the PST *-ka* as [-rka].

(2.85)

|       |              |
|-------|--------------|
| kuna  | pundza-ya-ka |
| today | day-VLZ-PST  |

‘[It] dawned today.’

el\_310502013\_1 077

The fact that *-ka* co-occurs with different semantic classes of verbs reinforces its interpretation as a past tense marker. Bybee et al. (1994: 91-2) point out that ‘perfectives normally co-occur with stative predicates, while pasts apply to all predicates, having the effect of signalling past state with stative predicates’. The past marker distribution obtains for *-ka*. Examples (2.82) through (2.85) referred to past situations completed by S; *-ka* can denote states that no longer exist by S, as in (2.81) and (2.86), or past habitual actions, as in (2.87).

(2.86)

|      |                 |                            |       |       |
|------|-----------------|----------------------------|-------|-------|
| ñuka | yaya -k -ma     | lluta-ri - <b>ka</b> -ni   | chi   | washa |
| 1SG  | father -BEN-DAT | stick-ANTIC- <b>PST</b> -1 | D.DEM | after |

|         |                      |           |              |
|---------|----------------------|-----------|--------------|
| ña      | kawsa- <b>ka</b> -ni | shina     | yaya-wa      |
| already | live- <b>PST</b> -1  | like.this | father-INSTR |

‘I stayed at my father’s, after that I lived with my parents (lit. father).’

in\_07062013\_01 145

(2.87)

|       |             |                         |                 |
|-------|-------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| tukuy | tukuy-manda | ni-j-kuna               | a- <b>ka</b>    |
| all   | all-ABL     | say- <b>AG.NMLZ</b> -PL | COP- <b>PST</b> |

|       |           |        |
|-------|-----------|--------|
| tukuy | ruku-wna, | tukuy, |
| all   | old-PL    | all    |

‘The grandparents used to say it’s good for all the sicknesses, for everything.’

in\_07062013\_01 238

All the situations described by *-ka*-marked clauses seem to have no present relevance, as would be expected of events cast in the Past tense. Example (2.87) is of a habitual past construction, analogous to the habitual present discussed in Section 2.4.2.2.1.

Another distributional property of *-ka* which is compatible with its PST analysis is that it can co-occur with the Progressive *-w* (cf. Matthewson 2004: 377). Such co-occurrence is not frequent in the corpus, but the two suffixes can co-occur on activity verbs, such as *ni-* ('to say') or *kati-* ('to follow').

#### 2.4.2.2.3 *Anterior: -shka*

The cognates of the TK *-shka* occur in many Quechuan varieties, and have been analysed differently by different authors. Adelaar (1977) and Muysken (1977) both analyse it as 'sudden discovery tense'. In Tarma Quechua (QI), 'sudden discovery tense' denotes 'events that have been going on unnoticed and which are suddenly discovered by the speaker (...)' (Adelaar 1977: 96). Such interpretation links the 'sudden discovery tense' to 'deferred realisation' (Aikhenvald 2004: 156-7): a semantic 'extension' of non-first-hand evidentials, implying that the speaker acquired full information about an event after it had happened. Faller (2002: 30-31) proposes analysing the Cuzco Quechua (QII) suffix *-sqa* as 'perfect of evidentiality'. For the same variety, Cusihuamán (1976: 160-1) analyses it as 'non-witnessed past'. For Imbabura Quechua (QII), Cole (1982: 147) analyses *-shka* as denoting the aspectual category of Perfect, based on the fact that it describes 'past situation with present relevance'. In a comparative study of TAM and evidentiality in South American Indigenous Languages, Mueller (2013: chap. 4) glosses *-shka* as Anterior, on exactly the same grounds that led Cole to label it 'Perfect'. Mueller, after Bybee, defines Anterior as signaling 'that the situation occurs prior to reference time and is relevant to the situation at reference time' (Bybee 1994: 54).

The semantics of *-shka* that emerges from the TK data suggests that it should be regarded as conforming with the definitions of Perfect - as used by Cole (1982), or of Anterior - as used in Mueller (2013). I decided to label it 'Anterior', which I regard as a much more transparent label than 'Perfect'. Furthermore, the TK data show that the interpretation of *-shka* as sudden discovery marker cannot be easily rejected; it seems that not only the present relevance of the event is important for the use of *-shka*, but also when the speaker became aware of the event:

(2.88) = (2.69b)

|          |         |          |                 |
|----------|---------|----------|-----------------|
| Pedro=mi | ñuka-ra | uma-y    | wakta-wa-ka     |
| NAME =mi | 1SG-ACC | head-LOC | hit-1SG.OBJ-PST |

‘Pedro hit me on the head.’

el\_12092013 219

(2.89) = (2.70a)

|          |             |          |             |
|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| Pedro=mi | Karolina-ra | uma-y    | wakta-shka. |
| NAME =mi | NAME-ACC    | head-LOC | hit-ANT     |

‘Pedro hit Karolina on the head.’

el\_12092013 221

According to the consultant with whom I discussed these examples, PST is felicitous in (2.88), but not in (2.89). In (2.88) the speaker was affected by the beating and has already known for a while about the information she conveys. This is not the case in (2.89), where the speaker has just learnt about the event described by the proposition. This suggests that the use of *-shka* is related not only to past time reference with present relevance, but might have to do with how well the conveyed information has been assimilated by the speaker. This is also in line with Adelaar’s (2013: 99) observation that in QII dialects, the meaning of *-shka* can be associated with a mirative meaning (see Chapter 5). Therefore, we can conclude that in TK as well, *-shka* is associated with past events with present relevance, which the speaker wishes to present as unexpected. I briefly come back to the discussion of the marker in Chapter 5.

As mentioned before, *-shka* also plays a role in lexical and clausal nominalisation. It can be used to derive resultative adjectives or deverbal nouns from verbs (cf. Muysken 1977: 59-65). The most common such noun used in TK is *pukushka* (ripen-ANT), which means ‘ripe plantain’. The role of *-shka* in clausal nominalisations and subordinate constructions is discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.3.2.

It is also prudent to mention that *-shka* can co-occur with the progressive *-w*:

(2.90)

|            |                   |                  |                     |
|------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Kay</i> | <i>trabanaybi</i> | <i>parijulla</i> | <i>katiwshkani.</i> |
| kay        | tarba-na-pi       | pariju=lla       | kati-w-shka-ni      |
| P.DEM      | work-INF-LOC      | on.a.par=LIM     | follow-PROG-ANT-1   |

‘In this work, I have kept going on together [with my co-workers].’

in\_03072013\_04 011

While this co-occurrence is most common in the clausal nominalisation use of *-shka*, as shown above, it can also occur when *-shka* is used with main verbs.

#### 2.4.2.2.4 Future: *-nga*

Future tense in TK refers to all events that take place after the moment of speaking (Bybee et al 1994: 244). As shown in Table 2.4 (see Section 2.4.2.1.2), the FUT marker *-nga*<sup>17</sup> attaches to the main verb, which often, but not always co-occurs with the AUX *a-* (‘to be’), marked with the progressive suffix *-w*. The future tense constructions with and without the auxiliary are shown below:

(2.91)

|          |                      |
|----------|----------------------|
| kaya     | rupa-chi- <b>nga</b> |
| tomorrow | hot-CAUS- <b>FUT</b> |

‘Tomorrow [it] will be hot.’

el\_310502013\_1 020

(2.92)

|                |          |             |
|----------------|----------|-------------|
| chishi-ra      | indi-nga | ra-w-n      |
| afternoon -ACC | sun-FUT  | AUX-PROG?-3 |

‘[This] afternoon [it] will be sunny.’

el\_310502013\_1 014

The marker *-nga* occurs in Future tense constructions, and generally marks non-actualised events. Consider its used in the mild horatative below:

---

<sup>17</sup> TK FUT marker *-nga* corresponds to the 3.FUT cumulative suffix described by Muysken (1977: 43) for several varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua.

(2.93)

Kasna=mi      traba-sha      miku-na      a-nga,      churi.  
like.this=mi   work-COR   eat-INF      AUX-FUT      son  
'Working like this, (one) should eat (feed oneself), son.'

in\_25052013\_1\_01    161

Constructions analogous to (2.93) are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. In Section 2.5.3.2.3, I discuss purpose clauses, marked with the suffix *-ngaj*, which seems to be diachronically derived from the FUT marker. While the different uses of *-nga* require more detailed investigation in future studies of TK, for the purpose of this thesis it should suffice to say that it is compatible with all types of future, non-actualised events.

### 2.4.2.3 Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category concerned with 'internal temporal constituency of a situation' (Comrie 1976: 5). TK exhibits one aspectual suffix: the progressive *-w*.

#### 2.4.2.3.1 Progressive *-w*

Progressive, as understood here, is an aspectual category that 'views the action as ongoing at reference time' (cf. Bybee et al. 1994). Progressive typically applies to dynamic, rather than stative predicates, and is used to describe 'actions that require a constant input of energy to be sustained' (Bybee et al. 1994: 126). This description is compatible with the distribution of the TK *-w*. The PROG marker can co-occur with all TK tense markers (see Sections 2.4.2.2). The suffix *-w* occurs most often on dynamic predicates in the present tense. In such context, it indicates that an event is ongoing at the moment of speaking (see also Section 2.4.2.2.1):

(2.94)

shu      runa              kallpa-w-n  
one    person          run-PROG-3  
'A man is running.'

elicited

(2.95)

tamya-w-n

rain-PROG-3

‘It’s raining.’

el\_310502013\_1 031

Despite the apparent incompatibility between progressive aspect and stative verbs (Bybee et al. 1994: 126), *-w* can occur on certain stative predicates. However, the examples below show that this is not necessarily at odds with the progressive interpretation of the suffix:

(2.96)

a. kan-da                      muna-ni  
2SG-ACC                      love/want-1  
‘(I) love you.’

b. \*kan-da                      muna-w-ni  
2SG-ACC                      love/want-PROG-1  
Intended: ‘I love you.’

c. kan-wa                      rima-na-ra                      muna-w-ni  
2SG-INSTR                      talk-INF-ACC                      love/want-PROG-1  
‘I want to talk with you.’ / \*‘I love talking to you.’

elicited

The verb root *muna-* without the PROG suffix is ambiguous between the stative ‘to love’ and a more dynamic interpretation of ‘to want/desire’. If affixed with the PROG, as in (2.96b), the stative reading becomes impossible. It can, however, be used to express a momentary desire to perform a certain action, as in (2.96c). The same point is illustrated below:

(2.97)

a. atun                      yura                      shaya-n                      yaku    pura-ma  
big                      tree                      stand-3                      water    side-DAT  
‘[A] big tree stands by the river’

- |    |       |      |              |       |          |
|----|-------|------|--------------|-------|----------|
| b. | *atun | yura | shaya-w-n    | yaku  | pura-ma  |
|    | big   | tree | stand-PROG-3 | water | side-DAT |
| c. | atun  | runa | shaya-w-n    | yaku  | pura-ma  |
|    | big   | man  | stand-PROG-3 | water | side-DAT |
- ‘[a] big man is standing by the river.’

elicited

The contrast between (2.97b) and (2.97c) shows that PROG marker is only grammatical in the context in which the action requires ‘a constant input of energy’ and can be conceptualised as temporary. Therefore, *-w* is compatible with the definition of Progressive given above.

#### 2.4.2.4 Mood

In the understanding adopted in this thesis, Mood is an expression of modality by means of verbal inflection. Modality, in turn, is understood as different from Tense and Aspect in that it does not ‘refer directly to the characteristics of the events, but simply to the status of propositions’ (Palmer 2001: 1).<sup>18</sup>

On the basis of the data analysed to date, TK finite verbs allow the following distinctions in terms of Mood:

- i. **Indicative:** used for describing factual events: events that are perceived by the speaker to be the part of the actual, real world. In TK, the Indicative mood is unmarked. It allows for a full range of Tense and Aspect distinctions;
- ii. **Interrogative:** used to request information. Marked by means of prosody and (optionally) by a range of interrogative enclitics;<sup>19</sup>
- iii. **Imperative:** a mood used to express commands. No Tense or Aspect distinction are made in the imperative. Marked by a dedicated set of verbal affixes;

<sup>18</sup> For a summary of the different approaches to defining mood and modality in the context of South American indigenous languages, see Mueller (2013: 131-3).

<sup>19</sup> Although the TK interrogative mood is not marked by means of verbal inflection, it is included here with other morphologically marked moods for the sake of completeness of the list of the TK modal distinctions.



- iv. **Conditional:** used to express propositions the validity of which is dependent on some condition. They are encoded by means of verbal inflection also used for subordination.

The properties of declarative and interrogative constructions are discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.2, where I describe the major clause types attested in TK. Although conditional constructions are attested TK, not enough data is available at this stage to warrant their comprehensive description. Therefore, their discussion here will be limited to presenting an example of a conditional clause. Consider:

(2.98)

|     |           |                            |       |               |
|-----|-----------|----------------------------|-------|---------------|
| kan | wasi-ma   | lluta-ri-kpi[=ga],         | allku | kani-nga[=mi] |
| 2SG | house-DAT | get.close-ANTIC-SWREF[=ga] | dog   | bite-FUT[=mi] |

‘If you come towards the house, [the] dog will bite you.’

el\_24112014\_03 371

Example (2.98) is of a conditional expressing a possible future event and a probable result. The main verb occurs in the consequent, and is marked with the FUT tense suffix *-nga*, and the verb in the antecedent is unmarked for tense, and, in the case given above, suffixed with the ‘switch reference’ marker *-kpi*. The suffix *-kpi* is not a conditional marker *per se*, but is used in TK conditional antecedents, as well as in other subordinate clause types (see Section 2.5.3.2.3).

The imperative mood is marked by means of dedicated inflectional suffixes on the verb. Since the markers with which this thesis is concerned do not occur in imperative clauses (apart from the Q/NEG =*chu*, see Section 3.3.2.6), it will not be discussed in more detail in the remainder of this thesis. Therefore, I introduce the TK imperative inflection below.

#### 2.4.2.4.1 Imperative

The imperative mood is used to express both positive and negative polarity commands. The TK imperative inflection is presented in Table 2.5:

**Table 2.5 TK imperative inflection**

| Person               | Imperative suffix |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 2SG                  | -y / bare stem    |
| 1PL (S+A) / HORT     | -shun             |
| 1PL (general) / HORT | -shunchi / -ychi  |
| 2PL                  | -ychi             |

Table 2.5 shows that in the imperative mood, the subject agreement is more complex than in the indicative. The imperative mood distinguishes between two types of 1PL subjects; one only includes the speaker and the addressee to the exclusion of everyone else, while the other can refer to a broader group of people, including the speaker and the addressee. Both 1PL imperative markers receive a hortative interpretation in discourse. As also shown in Table 2.5, the 2SG imperative can either be expressed with the suffix -y, or by means of suppletive stem. Both strategies are illustrated in (2.99):

(2.99)

Shami..... ama mandza-y=chu!  
 come.IMP PROH fear-2SG.IMP=Q/NEG  
 ‘Come, don’t be afraid!’

in\_20092013\_03 298

The example above also shows that in negative polarity imperatives, the prohibitive particle *ama* is added before the verb, which, for first and second person subjects, is followed by the Q/NEG enclitic =*chu*.

## 2.5 Constituent order and basic clausal syntax

This section describes basic clausal syntax of TK. Firstly, I discuss grammatical relations in the language (2.5.1). Subsequently, I analyse the syntax of simple clauses and their constituents (2.5.2). Finally, I turn to complex sentences, focusing on the most common morphosyntactic devices TK uses to encode subordination (2.5.3).

### 2.5.1 Grammatical relations in TK

This section briefly introduces the most important characteristics of subject and object arguments in TK. The considerations below apply to main clauses.

### 2.5.1.1 Subjects

TK shows the Nominative-Accusative pattern of alignment (see 2.3.2.2). There is no syntactic distinction between subjects of transitive and intransitive clauses: all Subject-designating phrases, irrespective of the transitivity and the argument structure of the predicate, occur in the zero-marked Nominative. Subjects trigger person and number agreement on the verb. In unmarked constituent order, subjects occur clause-initially, preceding objects and the verb (Section 2.5.2.1 and 4.3). However, the syntactic position of the NP is not by itself a sufficient criterion for determining subjecthood. A common test for subjecthood is analysing the syntactic behaviour of the NP in passive constructions. However, this strategy is not applicable to TK. Sánchez (2010: 15) reports that there are no passive constructions in Cuzco Quechua, although certain nominalisation strategies deliver constructions which are similar to passives. This observation also applies to TK, where *-shka* (ANT) nominalisations resemble passives, but do not share their key characteristics of demoting the subject argument (see example (2.71)). Subjecthood tests involving control relations should be applied to TK in future research. Here, I base some basic insights into the properties of the TK subject on the basis of anaphoric and cataphoric relations in complex clauses.

TK subjects trigger agreement on the main verb, but (lack) of co-reference with the subject is also marked in certain subordinate clause constructions. The suffix *-sha* is used if the subjects of the main and the subordinate clause are co-referential. If this is not the case, the subordinate verb is obligatorily marked with the suffix *-kpi*. The two suffixes are used extensively in adverbial subordinate clauses (see Section 2.5.3.2.3), and their use constitutes a useful initial diagnostic of TK subjecthood. Consider:

(2.100)

- a. (Ñuka) yarka-y-ra chari-sha, ashka-ra miku-ka-ni.  
 1SG be.hungry-OBJ.NMLZ-ACC have-COR much-ACC eat-PST-1  
 ‘Being hungry, I ate a lot.’

- b. \*(Ñuka) yarka-y-ra chari-kpi, ashka-ra miku-ka-ni  
 1SG be.hungry-OBJ.NMLZ-ACC have-SWREF much-ACC eat-PST-1  
 Intended: ‘Being hungry, I ate a lot.’

el\_10122014\_01

In (2.100a), the subordinate verb is marked with the suffix *-sha*, which indicates co-reference with the subject of the main clause. The utterance is felicitous irrespective of whether the subject of the subordinate clause is overt. Example (2.100b), on the other hand, was judged ungrammatical. The consultant suggested (2.101a) instead, while (2.101b) is another example of switch-reference construction, in which the subject of the subordinate clauses is overt:

(2.101)

- a. yarka-y-ra chari-kpi, kara-ka-ni  
 be.hungry-OBJ.NMLZ-ACC have-SWREF feed-PST-1  
 ‘As (someone) was hungry, I fed (them).’

el\_10122014\_01

- b. *Manara mikunara wawawna mikukpi,*  
 mana -ta miku -na -ta wawa -guna miku-kpi  
 NEG-ACC eat -AC.NMLZ-ACC child -PL eat -SWREF  
  
*kucharara kukani.*  
 kuchara-ta ku -ka -ni  
 spoon -ACC give -PST -1  
 ‘Before the children ate, [I] gave [them] spoons’

el\_02102013 115

In both examples in (2.101), the main and the subordinate clause have different subjects, which is indicated by means of the suffix *-kpi* on the subordinate verb.

Below, I use this subject agreement feature as a diagnostic to show that TK has no Accusative subjects. The *-sha/-kpi* subordinating constructions, as well as properties of subjects related to relativisation, are discussed in more detail in Section 2.5.3.2.

As far as the data show, TK subjects always occur in the Nominative case. This is not the case in other Quechuan varieties, even those closely related. Cole (1982: 107-9) reports Accusative subjects in Imbabura Quechua (QII) spoken in the Ecuadorian Andes, in cases where the thematic role of the subject corresponds roughly to experiencer. Cole (1982: 107) quotes two types of constructions, involving ‘desiderative’ or ‘lexical’ experiencers. Here, I discuss the ‘lexical experiencer’ construction, and compare it with similar examples from TK. According to my analysis, the NPs in question are not Accusative subjects, but direct objects in the Accusative case. Consider the following example from Imbabura:

(2.102) Imbabura Quechua (QII)

|                |          |
|----------------|----------|
| Juzi-ta        | rupa -n  |
| NAME-ACC       | be.hot-3 |
| ‘José is hot.’ |          |

Cole (1982: 108)

The example above was not accepted by TK speakers. Instead, my consultants suggested:

(2.103)

- |    |   |               |
|----|---|---------------|
| a. | Pigru                                   | rupa-n        |
|    | NAME                                    | be.hot-3      |
|    | ‘Pedro burnt [himself].’                |               |
| b. | Juzi-ta                                 | rupa-chi-n    |
|    | NAME-ACC                                | be.hot-CAUS-3 |
|    | ‘José is hot (lit. It makes José hot).’ |               |

elicited

The TK equivalent of (2.102) is (2.103b). Below, I show that it is justified to analyse examples like (2.103b) as clauses with a null subject which triggers 3<sup>rd</sup> person agreement, rather than as Accusative subjects (see Calvo Pérez 1993: sec. 4.1.2 for a similar analysis of these construction in Cuzco Quechua). Consider:

(2.104)

|         |                         |
|---------|-------------------------|
| Ñuka-ra | rupa-chi(-wa)-n         |
| 1SG-ACC | be.hot-CAUS(-1SG.OBJ)-3 |

‘I am hot (lit. It makes me hot).’

attested

Example (2.104) is analogous to (2.103b), but in this case the experiencer is 1SG. In (2.104) it is grammatical, although optional, to use 1SG.OBJ marker *-wa-* (see Section 2.4.2.1.1). This demonstrates that in the examples above, the Accusative-marked constituents are not subjects, but direct objects, while the subject, which triggers agreement on the verb, is not overt. This analysis is further confirmed by how construction analogous to those shown above function in subordinate clauses. Consider:

(2.105)

a.    *Ñukara*                      *rupachikpis,*                      *tarbakani.*  
       *ñuka-ta*                      *rupa-chi-kpi=pas,*                      *tarba-ka-ni*  
       1SG-ACC                      be.hot-CAUS-SWREF=ADD                      work-PST-1

‘I worked, being hot. (lit. I worked, it being hot to me).’

b.    \**ñuka-ra*                      *rupa-chi-sha=s,*                      *tarba-ka-ni*  
       1SG-ACC                      hot-CAUS-COR=ADD                      work-PST-1

el\_10122014\_01

As discussed above, *-kpi* can only be used if the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are not co-referential. The fact that (2.105a) is grammatical, while (2.105b), where the ‘co-reference’ suffix *-sha* is used, it not, shows that in TK, the Accusative-marked experiencers have to be analysed as direct objects.

The above discussion also shows that in TK, the syntactic role of subject is not associated with one semantic role. The examples above demonstrate that TK subjects can have the semantic roles of agent, as in (2.100) and (2.101), patient, as in (2.103) or force (2.104). In the discussion of the anticausative *-ri-*, I show that TK subjects can also have the semantic role of theme (see Section 2.4.1.1.1).

In this section, I have briefly discussed the main properties of TK subjects. They always occur in the Nominative case and trigger subject agreement on the verb. In certain subordinate clause structures, the subordinate verbs need to be marked for the (lack of) co-reference with the subject of the main clause. The grammatical role of subject is not associated with one semantic role, although prototypical subjects are agentive. In unmarked contexts, subject NPs occur clause-initially (see Section 2.5.2.1 and 4.3). As demonstrated in the examples above, these characteristics apply to both nominal and pronominal subjects.

### 2.5.1.2 Objects

This section describes the grammatical relation of Object in TK. I discuss the properties of both direct and indirect objects, pointing out the syntactic and semantic properties that allow us to distinguish them from other arguments of the verb, and from each other. In the discussion above, I have shown that both direct and indirect 1SG objects trigger optional agreement on the verb (see Section 2.4.2.1.1). Both direct and indirect objects can be relativised in TK (see Section 2.5.3.2.1).

#### 2.5.1.2.1 Direct objects

TK direct objects are defined as the non-subject arguments required by a transitive verb, prototypically, though not obligatorily (see Section 2.3.2.2), marked by the Accusative suffix *-ta*.<sup>20</sup> Example (2.106) below is of a simple transitive clause, where the subject occurs in the unmarked Nominative case, and the direct object – in the Accusative.

(2.106)

Maria            Wandzu-ra    wajta-n

NAME            NAME-ACC hit-3

‘Maria hits Juan.’

el\_310502013\_1 118

Only 1SG objects trigger optional agreement on the verb (see Section 2.4.2.1.1). As mentioned above, there is no passive construction in TK; in passive-like constructions, direct objects tend to precede the subject, but they maintain their

---

<sup>20</sup> The reasons behind this this will not be discussed here, except to say that it seems that differential object marking is not motivated by factors such as e.g. animacy of the referent.

grammatical role. The prototypical TK direct object is a patient, as shown in the example above. In the previous section, I have shown that direct objects can also have the semantic role of experiencer. The semantic role of recipient, however, is reserved for indirect objects in TK.

#### 2.5.1.2.2 Indirect Objects

In TK indirect objects are not easily distinguishable from direct objects on the basis of the case marking they receive. As mentioned above, indirect objects tend to correspond to the recipient argument in ditransitive constructions. They can be marked either by the Dative suffix *-ma* or the Accusative suffix *-ta*:

(2.107)

|              |                   |              |                          |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Pablo</i> | <i>sisagunara</i> | <i>kuyan</i> | <i>Mariama / Mariara</i> |
| Pablo        | sisa -guna-ta     | kuya-n       | Maria-ma / Maria-ta      |
| NAME         | flower-PL-ACC     | give -3      | NAME-DAT/ NAME-ACC       |

‘Pablo gave Maria flowers.’

el\_310502013\_1 240

In Cuzco Quechua (QII), indirect objects can be marked with either *-ta* or *-man* (cognate of *-ma*), if the action encoded by the verb requires a transfer of a concrete object.<sup>21</sup> If what is transferred is abstract, like an idea or knowledge, the indirect object can only be marked with *-ta* (cf. Cusihuamán 1976/2001: 145). As far as the data show, this observation also applies to TK. Compare (2.107) above with (2.108):

(2.108) = (2.58b)

|      |       |           |         |                      |            |
|------|-------|-----------|---------|----------------------|------------|
| Nilo | Quito | llakta-ra | pay-wa  | warmi-ra             | /*warmi-ma |
| NAME | NAME  | town-ACC  | 3SG-GEN | woman-ACC/*woman-DAT |            |

riksi-chi-w-n

know-CAUS- PROG-3

‘Nilo is showing the town of Quito to his wife.’

el\_21102014\_01

<sup>21</sup> Note that ‘concrete’ does not necessarily mean ‘material’ – Cusihuamán (1976/2001) also classifies ‘tales’ as concrete entities.



The fact that marking the INDIR.OBJ with *-ma* is possible in (2.107), but not in (2.108) confirms Cusihamán’s observation that only recipients of ‘concrete’ objects can be marked with both *-ta* and *-ma*. It also confirms that the TK *-ma* should mark a semantic, rather than grammatical role of its host. This is not the case for *-ta*, which, when occurring on arguments of a predicate, always indicates their status as either direct or indirect objects.

The TK object agreement also does not constitute a valid diagnostic for distinguishing between direct and indirect objects. I show in Section 2.4.2.1.1 that both direct and indirect 1SG objects can trigger the occurrence of the object agreement suffix *-wa-*. As mentioned above, both direct and indirect objects can be relativized in TK. Although the two types of arguments can be distinguished on the basis of their semantic roles in ditransitive construction, more research is needed into their syntactic properties in the future.

### 2.5.1.3 Oblique grammatical relations

TK oblique arguments can be identified on the basis of both their morphological marking and their semantic roles. As discussed in Section 2.3.2.3, TK has a range of inherent nominal inflectional affixes, which mark semantic roles such as source, causer, instrument, beneficiary, goal or location. The inherent inflection does not occur on subject or object arguments. The only inherent inflectional affix which can occur on both term and non-term arguments is the Dative suffix *-ma*.

As shown in the previous section, indirect objects can be marked with both *-ta* (ACC) and *-ma*. However, the DAT marker occurs not only on indirect objects, but also on oblique arguments. Consider:

(2.109)

- a. Pablo            ista-ma            shamu-n  
       NAME           party-DAT    come-3  
       ‘Pablo came to the party.’

- b. \*Pablo    ista-ra            shamu-n  
       NAME party-ACC    come-3

el\_310502013\_1 371

The ungrammaticality of (2.109b) above shows that DAT and ACC suffixes can only occur interchangeably on indirect objects. It also demonstrates that rather than being a marker of grammatical role of indirect objects, the Dative *-ma* is a marker of certain semantic roles. In (2.109), the semantic role of the *-ma*-marked argument is goal. In (2.107) above, it is recipient. Example (2.110) shows that *-ma* can also mark locative obliques:

(2.110)

- a.    ñuka     Juan-da        yaku-ma     upi-chi-ka-ni  
       1SG     NAME-ACC   water-DAT   drink-CAUS-PST-1  
       ‘I gave Juan [something to drink] by the river.’
- b.    ñuka     Juan-da        yaku-ra       upi-chi-ka-ni  
       1SG     NAME-ACC   water-ACC    drink-CAUS-PST-1  
       ‘I gave Juan water to drink.’

el\_10122014\_01

The semantic difference between (2.110a) and (2.110b) shows that on a non-recipient argument, *-ma* triggers an oblique interpretation, while the indirect object is interpreted as not expressed overtly. It remains to be investigated whether DAT on locative NPs always indicates that the location refers to is the location of the object.

To sum up, in TK oblique arguments can be identified on the basis of their morphological marking, as they are always suffixed with inherent inflectional affixes expressing case-like meanings. Only in case of the Dative *-ma*, additional semantic and syntactic factors need to be taken into account to establish whether it marks an indirect object or an oblique argument.

### 2.5.2 Basic clausal syntax

This section discusses the basic clausal syntax of TK. I begin by describing the word order of independent clauses (2.5.2.1). Subsequently, I discuss the characteristics of NPs (2.5.2.2) and VPs (2.5.2.3). Pronominal and Adverbial phrases also occur in TK, but will not be discussed here in more detail.

### 2.5.2.1 Word order in main clauses

In this section, I introduce the basic characteristics of the word order of TK. A more detailed discussion, including characteristics of word order in intransitive and transitive clauses can be found in Section 4.3, and is incorporated into the discussion of TK information structure.

The constituent order of Quechuan languages, including TK, is primarily SOV. The ordering of constituents is relatively unconstrained in main clauses, but is more strictly verb-finite in subordinate clauses. In main clauses, considerations related to the pragmatic structuring of propositions warrant different word orders, but orders in which the verb precedes the subject – VSO, VOS, and OVS – although not judged ungrammatical, are considered odd. Below, I illustrate these TK word orders which the speakers judge as acceptable without reservations:

#### (2.111) SOV

|       |           |             |          |
|-------|-----------|-------------|----------|
| Maria | Wandzu-ra | kaspi-wa    | wajta-n. |
| NAME  | NAME-ACC  | stick-INSTR | hit-3    |

‘Maria hits Juan with a stick.’

el\_310502013\_1 126

#### (2.112) SVO

|       |            |         |           |
|-------|------------|---------|-----------|
| Maria | shindzi-ra | wajta-n | Wandzu-ra |
| NAME  | strong-ACC | hit-3   | NAME-ACC  |

‘Maria hits Juan strongly.’

el\_23052013 156

#### (2.113) OSV

a. David-ta      Pidru      liba-chi-n  
NAME-ACC   NAME      be.punished-CAUS-3  
‘Pedro punishes David (lit. causes David to be punished).’

elicited

b. Juan-da moto      choca-n.  
NAME-ACC   motorcycle   crash.into-3  
‘[A] motorcycle crashed into Juan.’

el\_23052013 181

In (2.113) I provide two examples, in order to illustrate that the OS order is not limited to lexical passives such as *liba-* ('to be punished'). In (2.113b) the subject is inanimate, and the object is animate. While in elicitation the consultants would often produce OSV rather than SOV sentences when arguments exhibit such properties, animacy does not seem to be an important consideration for argument order in more natural discourse.

As expected in a primarily SOV language, TK main verbs always precede auxiliaries:

(2.114)

|          |       |          |            |
|----------|-------|----------|------------|
| kaya     | yaku  | illa-nga | ra-w-n     |
| tomorrow | water | lack-FUT | AUX-PROG-3 |

'Tomorrow there will be no water [in the pipeline].'

el\_12092013 115

In nominal predicates, the predicate nominal tends to occur before the copula, but the reverse order is also permissible, as shown by the synonymous sentences below:

(2.115)

- |    |       |                    |         |
|----|-------|--------------------|---------|
| a. | Pedro | yacha-chi-k        | a-ka    |
|    | NAME  | learn-CAUS-AG.NMZL | COP-PST |
- 
- |    |       |         |                    |
|----|-------|---------|--------------------|
| b. | Pedro | a-ka    | yacha-chi-k        |
|    | NAME  | COP-PST | learn-CAUS-AG.NMZL |
- 'Pedro used to be a teacher.'

elicited

Adjectival predicates are more restricted in this regard, and require that the predicate adjective precede the copula, as in (2.116a). The reverse order is ungrammatical, as in (2.116b):

(2.116)

- |    |      |        |        |           |
|----|------|--------|--------|-----------|
| a. | ñuka | ñawpa  | sumak  | a-ka-ni   |
|    | 1SG  | before | pretty | COP-PST-1 |
- 'I used to be pretty.'

- b. \*Ñuka            ñawpa      a-ka-ni      sumak  
                  1SG            before      COP-PST-1    pretty

elicited

The ordering of adjuncts is not restricted, and they can occur either to the left or to the right of the predicate.

### 2.5.2.2 Properties of NPs

This section describes the basic properties of TK noun phrases. In Tena Kichwa, as well in other documented Quechuan varieties, NPs are strictly head final. Consider:

(2.117)

- a. [kay            sabiru            warmi-guna]  
          P.DEM            agile            woman-PL  
          ‘these clever women’
- b. [kay            warmi-guna]      sabiru  
          P.DEM            woman-PL      agile  
          ‘These women (are) clever.’ / \*‘these clever women’

elicited

Example (2.117a) is of an NP consisting of a demonstrative pronoun, an adjectival modifier and a nominal head. The NP interpretation only arises if the nominal head follows all the modifiers. As shown in (2.117b), if the adjective follows the noun, the utterance is interpreted as an adjectival predicate, where the subject NP consists of the demonstrative pronoun and the nominal head. The examples above also show that nominal modifiers do not agree with the head noun with respect to number (see Section 2.3.2.1). The same obtains for case: the syntactic function/semantic role of the NP is only marked on the head:

(2.118)

- a. [palanda            kara-wa    ]    niti-nga            ra-w-ni            kasna  
          unripe.plantain skin-INSTR    press-FUT      AUX-PROG-1      like.this  
          ‘I will press [it] with [the] plantain peel like this.’

in\_20092013\_01    076

- b. \*[palanda-wa                kara-wa        ] niti-nga        ra-w-ni                kasna  
unripe.plantain-INST skin-INSTR press-FUT AUX-PROG-1 like.this  
elicited

In (2.118a), the syntactic function of the instrument NP is indicated on the nominal head only; (2.118b), where both the dependent and the head noun were marked for case, was rejected as ungrammatical. The head-final case marking on NPs and lack of agreement is illustrated further in (2.119):

(2.119)

[Kam-**ba**      churi-ra ] riku-ka-ni                      [ishki   malta      runa-guna-wa ].

2SG-GEN   son-ACC   see-PST-1                      two   young   man-PL-INSTR

[Ñuka      wawki      wasi-manda] [Pablo-k-ma      ] ri-nuka.  
1PRO brother house-ABL NAME-BEN-DAT go-3PL

‘I saw your son with two young men. They were going from my brother’s house to Pablo’s.’

elicited

Example (2.119) also shows that nominal modifiers do not agree with their heads in case or number. It also shows that Genitive is marked on the dependent, and is not obligatory. The morphology of possession in TK is much simpler than in other dialects, e.g. in Southern Quechua (cf. Sánchez 2010: 101-3), which exhibits agreement with the person of the possessor on the possessed noun. In TK, possession is only marked by GEN case on the possessor, and even this marking is not obligatory (see Section 2.3.2.3.4). In some cases, the NPs marked with the Benefactive suffix -k can also be interpreted as a marker of possession (see Section 2.3.2.3.5).

One of the tests that can be used to confirm that TK NPs are constituents is the movement test. Only entire NPs, rather than NP fragments, can be moved to a different position in the clause:

(2.120)

- a. [ñuka puchukay wawa ]      sumak-ta      tushu-n  
      1SG last      child      pretty-ACC      dance-3  
      ‘My youngest child dances beautifully.’
- b. \*ñuka      sumak-ta      tushu-n      puchukay wawa  
      1SG      pretty-ACC      dance-3      last      child
- c. \*ñuka puchukay sumak-ta      tushu-n      wawa  
      1SG last      pretty-ACC      dance-3      child

elicited

In TK, the movement test allows establishing the constituency of NPs. However, in many Quechuan varieties, the characteristics of NPs differ from those described above. Some Peruvian varieties exhibit discontinuous NPs (Lefebvre & Muysken 1988; Hastings 2003; Sánchez 2010). In these varieties, adjectives and nouns belonging to the same NP can be non-adjacent, and both bear case marking (Sánchez 2010: sec. 5.3.1). Hastings (2003: 40-1) notes that discontinuous NPs differ in interpretation from their continuous counterparts; discontinuous NPs are interpreted as definite, while the continuous ones are ambiguous in that regard. As far as the data show, no discontinuous NPs are attested in TK.

### 2.5.2.3 Properties of VPs

The objective of this section is not to provide an exhaustive description of the TK VP, but rather to account for its basic properties. In TK, as well as in other Quechuan varieties, the word order within the VP is much more free than within an NP. The TK VPs, unlike other types of phrases, need not be head-final (cf. Cusihuamán 1976: ch. 6; Lefebvre & Muysken 1988; Calvo Pérez 1993: ch. 6; Sánchez 2010).

Quechuan languages are often considered to be discourse-configurational (cf. Muysken 1995, see Section 2.5.2.1). Lefebvre & Muysken (1988: sec. 2.3.3) provide a discussion of whether VPs exist in Quechua, given the ‘remarkably free’ word order of Quechuan languages. They address claims made in the previous literature that Quechua is non-configurational and therefore has no syntactic VP by showing that the ‘apparent non-configurational characteristics [of the Peruvian Quechua

varieties] do not preclude the presence of a VP node’ (Lefebvre & Muysken 1988: 51). In the analysis presented in this thesis, I assume the existence of a VP in TK. A detailed discussion of the Quechua VP can be found e.g. in Muysken’s (1977) generative study of syntactic developments within the Quechua VP, including data from several varieties of Ecuadorian Quechua, spoken in the Andean provinces of Pichincha and Cotopaxi and the Amazonian province of Pastaza.

In TK, again like in other Quechuan languages, the VP minimally contains a verbal head. In most cases heads of VPs are inflected verbs. However, in Quechuan languages nominalised verbs have syntactic and morphological properties of nouns, but can also retain verbal properties (Lefebvre & Muysken 1988: 74-7), such as taking object complements. Consider:

(2.121)

Ñukanchi      [sacha   aycha-ra   miku-ka-nchi]<sub>VP</sub>,   boda-y  
 1PL                jungle   meat-ACC   eat-PST-1PL        wedding-LOC  
 ‘At the wedding, we ate game meat.’

elicited

(2.122)

[sacha            aychara            mikunara]<sub>VP</sub>            munani  
 sacha            aycha-ta            miku-na-ta            muna-ni  
 jungle            meat-ACC            eat-INF-ACC            want-1  
 ‘I want to eat game meat.’

elicited

In (2.121), the VP consists of a finite verb, inflected for person, and of its direct object. In (2.122), the head of the VP, which functions as a complement of the modal verb *muna-* (‘want’), is an infinitive verb (see Section 2.4.1.3.3) also marked for case.

Apart from direct objects, shown above, TK VPs can also contain indirect objects and modifiers, including adverbials (and ADvPs). In their discussion of Peruvian Quechua, Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 47) show that the indirect and direct object form a constituent with the verb. One of the types of evidence they provide is that the direct and indirect object can be negated together with the verb, while it is not possible to negate the indirect and direct object together, without also negating the



verb. Consider the TK examples below, analogous to those provided by Lefebvre and Muysken (1988: 48):

(2.123)

|      |       |          |            |     |
|------|-------|----------|------------|-----|
| Ñuka | [mana | Quitu-ma | ri-ni=chu  | ]VP |
| 1SG  | NEG   | Quito-ma | go-1=Q/NEG |     |

‘I am not going to Quito.’

elicited

(2.124)

|      |       |          |              |     |
|------|-------|----------|--------------|-----|
| Pay  | [mana | wasi-ra  | riku-n=chu   | ]VP |
| 3PRO | NEG   | wasi-ACC | see -3=NEG/Q |     |

‘He/she doesn’t see the house.’

elicited

(2.125)

a. [Mana kan-ma kulki-ra ku-nga ra-w-ni=chu ]VP  
 NEG 2SG-DAT money-ACC give-FUT AUX-PROG-1=Q/NEG  
 ‘I will not give you money.’

b. \*Mana kan-ma kulkui-ra=chu ku-nga ra-w-ni  
 NEG 2SG-DAT money-ACC=Q/NEG give-FUT AUX-PROG-1

elicited

In the examples above, the scope of negation is delimited by the negative particle *mana* and the NEG/Q enclitic *=chu*. In (2.123), negation scopes over the VP consisting of a verbal head and an indirect object. In (2.124), the VP contains the verb and the direct object. The contrast between (2.125a) and (2.125b) consists in the fact that in the former, the negation scopes over the entire VP containing the verbal head and the direct and indirect object. Example (2.125b) is ungrammatical, since the direct and indirect object cannot be negated without the verb; therefore, we can conclude that they do not form a constituent.<sup>22</sup>

The VP can also be elided. Consider the example below:

<sup>22</sup> In the corpus, *mana* was not attested to precede objects, and negation was not attested to bracket simple NPs. A more detailed analysis of the syntactic properties of negation in TK should be conducted in future research.

(2.126)

[Ima-ra            ra-w-n            ]<sub>VP</sub>    warmi,            y            shina=llara            kari?  
what -ACC        do-PROG-3            woman            and            like.this=ID.REF    man  
‘What is the woman doing, and also the man?’

el\_05122014\_01 004

In (2.126), the difference between the first and second conjunct shows that the interrogative *imara rawn* (what=INT do-PROG-3) can be elided, and therefore forms a constituent, or, more precisely, a VP consisting of the verbal head and a pronominal direct object.

The discussion in this section has presented some arguments in favour of the existence of a VP in TK. The research so far suggests that TK VPs minimally consist of a verbal head, and that direct and indirect objects also belong to the VP. TK VPs can be discontinuous. More research is needed into the TK VP in general, into the potential VPs in which the V and O are not adjacent in particular.

### 2.5.3 Syntax of complex constructions

This section deals with the basic syntax of bi-clausal sentences. First, I will briefly discuss the syntactic devices used for coordination (2.5.3.1). Secondly, I discuss the different types of subordinate constructions attested in TK (2.5.3.2).

I understand ‘coordination’ and ‘subordination’ as defined by Haspelmath (2007). Coordination applies to ‘syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements’ (Haspelmath 2007: 1). The coordinands<sup>23</sup> can be words, phrases, subordinate clauses, or full sentences. The relation of ‘dependency’ occurs when these syntactic units are conjoined asymmetrically, that is, when the semantic roles they play are non-identical. ‘Subordination’ is, in Haspelmath’s terms, ‘more or less equivalent to clausal dependency’ (2007: 46).

---

<sup>23</sup> Term used for ‘units that are combined in a coordinate construction’ (Haspelmath 2007: 50, after Dixon 1988).

### 2.5.3.1 Coordination

In TK, syntactic units are often coordinated by conjunctions borrowed from Spanish, (most common of which are *y* ‘and’, *o* ‘or’), which are often combined with the TK particle *shinallara* (like.this=ID.REF, ‘also’ (see example (2.126)). TK also employs asyntentic coordination, mainly between adjectival modifiers of the same noun, or nominalised verbs on the same level of syntactic structure.

The TK additive clitic =*pas* functions as a coordinator of different types of syntactic units. It can function as an additive coordinator of two NPs in the same clause (cf. Sánchez 2010: 116), as well as be used for purposes of coherence, linking different sentences in discourse. I discuss it in more detail in Section 3.3.2.13. A suffix which is used specifically for coordination of NP is *-ndi*, which I gloss as ‘inclusive’ (after Nuckolls 1993). Consider:

(2.127)

- a. [Ñuka] [ñuka warmi-ndi ] Tena-ma ri-w-ni / rin-w-nchi  
 1SG 1SG wife-INCL NAME-DAT go-PROG-1 / go-PROG-1PL  
 ‘I am going to Tena with my wife.’/ ‘My wife and I are going to Tena.’
- b. [Ñuka ] [ñuka warmi-wa ] Tena-ma ri-w-ni / \*ri-w-nchi  
 1SG 1SG woman-INSTR NAME-DAT go-PROG-1 / go-PROG-1PL  
 ‘I am going to Tena with my wife.’/ \*‘My wife and I are going to Tena.’

el\_10122014\_01

The above shows that while *-ndi* can be used to coordinate two arguments of the verb which share the same grammatical role, this is not the case with the INSTR *-wa*, which also indicates accompaniment, but always introduces oblique arguments. For Cuzco Quechua, Sánchez (2010: 116) observes that the cognates of *-wa* and *-ndi* function as a distributive and collective co-ordinator, respectively. It remains to be investigated whether the same could be stated for TK.

### 2.5.3.2 Subordination

In this section, I provide examples of relative (2.5.3.2.1), complement (2.5.3.2.2) and adverbial (2.5.3.2.3) subordinate clauses in TK. Before proceeding to the discussion of those subordinate clause types, I briefly explain how the definition of

subordination mentioned in the introduction to this section informed my choice and analysis of examples from TK.

If subordination is to be understood as occurrence of a structure in which ‘syntactic units are conjoined asymmetrically’ (Haspelmath 2007), the notion of ‘asymmetry’ needs to be clarified. In this description, I take two clauses to be conjoined asymmetrically when only one of them (the matrix clause) is headed by a finite verb. It follows that the verb in the dependent clause is non-finite: not specified for tense (Kroeger 2005: ch.12), and not agreeing with its subject for person. In the subsequent discussion, I describe the different types of subordinate constructions in TK.

#### *2.5.3.2.1 Relative clauses*

For the purpose of this grammatical description, a relative clause (RC) is understood as a subordinate clause that ‘functions as a nominal modifier’ (Keenan 1985, cited in Payne 1997: 325).<sup>24</sup> In TK, it is possible to relativise quite a broad range of grammatical functions: subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, and certain types of obliques (see discussion below). In accordance with the accessibility hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977, cited in Andrews 2007: 226), it seems that the functions of possessors and objects of comparison cannot be relativised.

Below, I discuss the morphosyntactic strategies used to relativise different types of arguments in TK. For each type of relative clause, I discuss (i) the structural relationships between the RC and the NP<sub>mat</sub>, (ii) the recoverability strategy, and (iii) morphosyntactic devices used in the process of relativisation and the position of the RC in the clause (cf. Andrews 2007: 207). After analysing the different types of RCs, I conclude the section with a short summary of properties of relative clause constructions in TK.

##### **i. NP<sub>mat</sub> is the subject of the RC**

First, let us consider examples of restrictive relative clauses, where the head of the RC is the SUBJ of both the matrix clause and the RC:

---

<sup>24</sup> Note that this definition includes ‘non-restrictive’ clauses, which do not help specify the referent of the domain nominal, but provide additional information about that nominal. Such clauses fall outside the definition of RC provided e.g. by Andrews (2007: 206), who understands RCs as subordinate clauses ‘which delimit the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC’.

(2.128) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Kay                      comunidad-bi              kawsak              / \*kawsa-w              ]<sub>RC</sub>  
 P.DEM                      comunidad-LOC              live -AG.NMLZ /              live-PROG

wawa-wna              Napu              yaku-y              arma-nun.  
 child -PL              NAME              river -LOC              bathe -3PL

‘The children who live in this community bathe in the Napo River.’

el\_25102013 086

(2.129) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Politika-ma    iku-k                      ]<sub>RC</sub>    runa-wna              shuwa-ngak              iku-nun.  
 politics -DAT enter -AG.NMLZ              person -PL              steal -PURP              enter -3PL

‘People who go into politics, enter [ it ] to steal.’

el\_25102013 096-7

(2.130) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[launa-ra              shamu-k                      ]<sub>RC</sub>    bus              undakta=mi              shamu-n  
 one.o.clock-ACC              come -AG.NMLZ              bus              full =mi              come -3

‘The bus that comes at one [o’clock] is (always) full.’

el\_25102013 089

(2.131) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Polonia -manda              shamu-k                      / shamu-w              ]<sub>RC</sub>    rancia              warmi  
 Poland -ABL              come -AG.NMLZ /              come-PROG              foreign              woman

chi              wasi -y                      kawsa -n  
 D.DEM              house -LOC              live -3

‘The foreign woman who came from Poland lives in that house.’

el\_25102013 106

In all the above examples, the head of the RC is the subject of both the RC and the matrix clause. In all cases, the RC is clause-initial, and precedes the nominal it modifies. That is, it takes the same position as modifiers of the head noun within an NP (see Section 2.5.2.2).

The RCs above are all externally headed, and the relativised argument is omitted in the RC ('gap' strategy). All the RCs are nominalised using the same strategy, that is, the verb stem is affixed with the agentive nominaliser *-k*. In RCs, the agentive nominaliser can be used interchangeably with the progressive suffix *-w*, at least when the nominalised verb describes a punctual action, rather than habitual action or a state. The example below demonstrates this:

(2.132) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> DIR.OBJ

[chi            shaya-w        /shaya-k            ]<sub>RC</sub>    runa-ra            muna-ni.  
 D.DEM        stand-PROG / stand-AG.NMLZ        person-ACC        love -1  
 '[I] love [the] man [who] stands/is standing there.'

el\_25102013 039

In (2.132), the head of the RC is the direct object of the matrix clause. This, however, does not have any implications for the morphosyntactic properties of the relative clause, which are the same as in the previous examples. So far, the examples in this section were only of externally headed RCs, but (2.133) shows that headless RCs are also a possibility:

(2.133) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[chi    -ma    shaya-k            /shaya-w        ]<sub>RC</sub>    yaya    tuku-sha            puri-w-n  
 D.DEM -DAT stand-AG.NMLZ/stand-PROG    father    become-COR    go-PROG-3  
 'The one standing there goes around all sorted out (lit. made a father).'

el\_25102013 101

In (2.133) the position of the RC and the relativizing morphology are the same as in (2.128) through (2.131), but there is no domain nominal that the RC modifies. Rather, the nominalised verb is referential. Note that the noun 'father' forms a part of an idiomatic expression *yaya tukusha* (meaning roughly 'to be all sorted out', Spanish: *hecho el bueno*), and does not belong to the RC.

The examples above were of restrictive RCs. As shown below, non-restrictive subject RCs also occur in TK:

(2.134) non-restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

Wilma || [kay llakta-y kawsa-k / \* -w ]<sub>RC</sub>,

NAME P.DEM town -LOC live-AG.NMLZ / -PROG

sumak warmi a -n

pretty woman COP -3

‘Wilma, who lives here, is a pretty girl.’

el\_25102013 108

(2.135) non-restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> SUBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

Jacobo || [kuna =lla shamu -k ]<sub>RC</sub> alli runa =mi a -n

NAME now =LIM come -AG.NMLZ good person =mi COP -3

‘Jacobo, who just came, is a good man.’

el\_25102013 110

In the above, the relativisation strategy is the same as in (2.128) though (2.131): the nominaliser *-k* on the subordinate verb. However, while restrictive RCs occur pre-nominally, non-restrictive clauses immediately follow the head of the NP they modify.

In both (2.134) and (2.135), there is a prosodic break between the proper name and the rest of the clause, and the pitch goes down markedly at the end of the RC, unlike in the restrictive clauses. More examples would be needed to provide conclusive evidence, but the data suggests that despite using the same subordinate verb form and recoverability strategy, restrictive and non-restrictive subject RCs differ substantially in how they are syntactically integrated with the matrix clause (cf. Andrews 2007: 207).

To sum up, subject RCs in TK can be either restrictive or non-restrictive. Restrictive RCs occur in the pre-nominal position which is also normally taken by adjectival modifiers. They can be externally headed or headless, and are nominalised by the agentive nominaliser *-k* or the progressive suffix *-w*, depending on the type of situation described by the RC. The syntactic function of the domain nominal within the matrix clause is irrelevant to the properties of the RC. Non-restrictive RCs make use of the same nominalising morphology, but occur to the right of the nominal they

modify. Their prosody suggests that they are less integrated with the matrix clause than their restrictive counterparts.

**ii. NP<sub>mat</sub> is the direct object of the RC**

Below, I show that TK direct objects can be relativised. The nominal modified by the RC is the subject of the matrix clause. Firstly, I discuss restrictive RCs of that kind:

(2.136) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

|      |                           |        |      |                    |
|------|---------------------------|--------|------|--------------------|
| [kan | riku-shka ] <sub>RC</sub> | runa   | ñuka | wawki =mi          |
| 2SG  | see -ANT                  | person | 1SG  | brother.of.male=mi |

‘The man you saw is/was my brother.’

el\_25102013 138

(2.137) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

|      |                               |       |           |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------|
| [kan | miku -w -shka ] <sub>RC</sub> | muyu  | pakay =mi |
| 2SG  | eat-PROG-ANT                  | fruit | guava =mi |

‘The fruit you’ve eaten was guava.’

el\_25102013 140

The above examples show that also DIR.OBJ restrictive RCs occur clause-initially, in the position typical for modifiers, and are externally headed. The verbs in RCs are not inflected for tense, but receive the anterior suffix *-shka*. Affixing verbs with *-shka* is a common strategy of resultative nominalisation. As shown by example (2.137), when the situations described by matrix and relative clause are simultaneous, the nominalised verb can in addition be affixed with the progressive suffix *-w*.

Since the relativised relation is that of DIR.OBJ, the subject of the RC occurs within it, clause-initially. The relativised grammatical relation is gapped, like in subject RCs. The subject of the RC can also be omitted when it is known to both speech act participants, as in (2.139) below. When overt, it stands in the regular subject case (Nominative), as in (2.138):

(2.138) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

|         |                           |            |               |             |
|---------|---------------------------|------------|---------------|-------------|
| [Jacobo | riku-shka ] <sub>RC</sub> | runa-wna   | feria-ma=mi   | ri-nushka.  |
| NAME    | see -ANT                  | person -PL | market-DAT=mi | go -3PL.ANT |

‘The people Jacobo saw have gone to [the] market.’

el\_25102013 122



(2.139) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Ñankarta riku-shka ]<sub>RC</sub> runa-wna Tena-ma ri-nuka.  
 recently see -ANT person-PL NAME-DAT go-3PL.PST  
 ‘The people we just saw were going to Tena.’

el\_25102013 118

Examples (2.138) and (2.139) use the same relativisation strategy, but the matrix clauses differ in their choice of the finite verb form. In (2.136) the copula verb *a-* (‘be’) is also omitted, a construction often used with predicative nominals, especially when they are suffixed with a discourse marker, e.g. an evidential.

In subject RCs, the role of the domain nominal in the matrix clause was irrelevant to the form of the RC. It is also the case for direct object RCs. Compare (2.140) and (2.141) below:

(2.140) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Nilo kuya-shka ]<sub>RC</sub> palanda-wna gustu miku-na=mi a-ka  
 NAME give.a.gift-ANT unripe.plantain-PL good eat-AC.NMLZ =mi COP -PST  
 ‘The plantains Nilo gave me were a tasty food.’

el\_25102013 129

(2.141) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> DIR.OBJ

[Nilo kuya-shka ]<sub>RC</sub> palanda-ra ukta=lla miku-ka-ni.  
 NAME give.a.gift-ANT unripe.plantain-ACC quick=LIM eat -PST-1  
 ‘The plantain Nilo gave me, I ate (them) very fast.’

el\_25102013 127

In (2.140), the head of the RC is the subject, and in (2.141) - the direct object of the matrix clause. The change in grammatical relation to the matrix clause is evidenced by case marking on the head noun, which occurs in the Nominative in (2.140), and in the Accusative in (2.141).

All the above observations apply to restrictive RCs. The properties of non-restrictive relative clause constructions are quite different. Consider:

(2.142) non-restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

ñuka            hermano    [Wilma   pay    riku-shka]<sub>RC</sub>   profesor=mi   a-n  
 1SG            brother    NAME    3SG    see -ANT    teacher=mi   COP-3  
 ‘My brother, whom Wilma saw, is a teacher.’

el\_25102013    134

(2.143) non- restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> DIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[ñuka hermano -ra   kan    riku -shka]<sub>RC</sub>            profesor=mi            a -n  
 1SG brother-ACC    2SG    see -ANT            teacher=mi            COP -3  
 ‘My brother, whom you have seen, is teacher.’

el\_25102013    132

The RC in (2.143) is functionally similar to that in (2.142), but the syntactic structure of the example is quite different. Example (2.142) is externally-headed, as opposed to the internally-headed (2.143). The recoverability strategies also differ. Instead of a gap, as in all the other cases, in (2.142) we find a third person resumptive pronoun *pay*. Normally, pronouns in the DIR.OBJ function occur in the Accusative, but here the pronoun is unmarked for case. As mentioned above, in (2.143), the RC is headed internally. The head nominal occurs clause initially, in the default subject position (it is the subject of the matrix clause), but is marked with the ACC case, which indicates its relativised grammatical relation of DIR.OBJ.

To sum up, restrictive RCs that relativise direct objects are externally headed. They occur within the NP they modify, in the position normally occupied by an adjectival modifier. Unless its identity is clear from the discourse context, the subject of the RC occurs clause-initially, and the relativised grammatical relation is omitted from the RC (‘gap’ strategy). Direct object restrictive RCs are tenseless. The subordinate verb form is partially nominalised by means of affixing the anterior marker *-shka*, which can be preceded by the progressive marker, depending on the temporal relations that hold between the RC and the matrix clause.

The data collected so far shows that non-restrictive direct object RCs either occur to the right of the nominal they modify (NP external), or are internally headed. They have an overt subject, and the relativised grammatical relation is marked by either a resumptive pronoun, unmarked for case (externally headed RC), or by the ACC case

affix on the head nominal (internally headed RCs). Functional motivation of each of these constructions requires further study into the properties of RCs in TK.

### iii. **NP<sub>mat</sub> is the indirect object of the RC**

On the basis of the data collected to date, it is plausible to say that the indirect object RCs are similar to the direct object relativising constructions. Consider (2.144) below, illustrating a restrictive indirect object RC:

(2.144) restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> INDIR.OBJ, NP<sub>mat</sub> SUBJ

[Jacobo pakay-ra ku-w-shka ]<sub>RC</sub> ushushi ña ri-ka=mi  
 NAME guava -ACC give -PROG-ANT daughter already go-PST =mi  
 ‘The girl to whom Jacobo have the guava had already left.’

el\_25102013 165

The RC is clause-initial, externally headed, and occurs in the position of an adjectival modifier. The relativised argument is omitted, but the subject and direct object of the relative clause are both realised. The verb is affixed with the anterior suffix *-shka*, which also occurs in direct object RCs.

### iv. **NP<sub>mat</sub> is an oblique of the RC**

The data collected so far is not sufficient to conclude what types of oblique arguments can be relativised. Examples below illustrate relativisation of location (2.145) and purpose (2.146):

(2.145) non-restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> LOC, NP<sub>mat</sub> PRED

kay wasi =mi [ñuka kawsa -w -shka ]<sub>RC</sub>  
 P.DEM house =mi 1SG live -PROG-ANT  
 ‘This house is where I live.’

el\_12092013 224

(2.146) non-restrictive, NP<sub>rel</sub> PURP NP<sub>mat</sub> PRED

kay=mi [lumu taka-w-shka ]<sub>RC</sub> batan  
 P.DEM=mi manioc squash-PROG-ANT wooden.recipient  
 ‘This is a batan (wooden recipient) to crush manioc.’

el\_12092013 234

Morphosyntactically, these RCs are similar to relativised object and indirect object constructions. In both (2.145) and (2.146) head nominals function predicatively, so they are not easily compared with previous examples.

#### 2.5.3.2.2 *Complement clauses*

The examples below show the properties of complement clauses in TK, for complements of the verb *yacha-* ('know'/'learn'). Consider:

(2.147)

|         |         |                    |   |    |
|---------|---------|--------------------|---|----|
| Abigail | yacha-n | [killka-na-ra      | ] | CP |
| NAME    | learn-3 | letter-AG.NMLZ-ACC |   |    |

'Abigail knows how to write.'

el\_23052013 318

(2.148)

|         |              |                 |                 |   |    |
|---------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|----|
| Abigail | yacha-w-n    | [killka-shka-ra | riku-na-ra      | ] | CP |
| NAME    | learn-PROG-3 | letter-ANT-ACC  | see-AC.NMLZ-ACC |   |    |

'Abigail is learning to read [lit. to read that what has been written].'

el\_310502013\_1 470

The examples above show that the complement of 'learn' can be a complement clause headed by a nominalised verb, consisting minimally only of a nominalised verb, as in (2.147). The complements of 'learn'/'know' are always marked by the INF nominaliser *-na* (see Section 2.4.1.3.3). The use of *-na* is a common complementation strategy, used e.g. with verbs of knowing or perception, or with *muna-* ('want'). In Chapter 5, I discuss the complements of speech, which are relevant for the description of the properties of the free enclitic *=mi* (see Chapter 3 onwards).

#### 2.5.3.2.3 *Adverbial clauses*

In this section, I discuss adverbial clauses, that is, clauses that serve as 'modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses' (Thompson, Longacre & Hwang 2007: 238). Adverbial modification of the matrix clause is achieved by means of a special verb form, which, in certain types of clauses, is additionally accompanied by a

subordinating adverbial. Below, I list and discuss the different types of adverbial clauses occurring in TK.

This classification of TK adverbial clauses is based both on semantic criteria, following the classifications presented by Hengevald (1991) and Thompson et al. (2007), and on the morphosyntactic strategies used to express adverbial modification of the matrix clause.

Examples below show that adverbial clauses do not have a fixed position with respect to the matrix clause. Although more research is needed to instantiate this claim, I hypothesise that in TK, the position of an adverbial clause is often ‘determined by its role in linking the main clause which it modifies to the preceding discourse’ (Thompson et al. 2007: 240).

When overt, arguments in subordinate clauses are marked in the same way as in main clauses – subjects occur in the zero-marked Nominative, and direct objects are marked with the Accusative *-ta*. In several types of adverbial clauses, the (lack of) co-reference of the subject of the matrix clause and the subordinate clause is obligatorily marked on the subordinate verb – the suffixes used to mark this (lack of) co-reference are *-sha* (co-reference) and *-kpi* (switch reference), which were introduced in Section 2.5.1.1.

#### **i. Simultaneity**

Simultaneity clauses describe events taking place simultaneously with those in the main clause. The subordinate verb form is non-finite:

(2.149)

- a.    ñuka    escuela-ma    shamu -shka -y,    Guillermo    salura-wa    -ka  
       1SG    school-DAT    come -ANT-LOC NAME    greet-1SG.OBJ -PST  
       ‘When I came to school Guillermo greeted me.’
- b.    ñuka    escuela-ma    shamu-kpi,    Guillermo    salura-wa    -ka  
       1SG    school-DAT    come-SWREF NAME    greet -1SG.OBJ -PST  
       ‘When I came to school, Guillermo greeted me.’

el\_02102013 101

Examples in (2.149) show that when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are not co-referential, two non-finite constructions can be used. The ANT+LOC nominalisation strategy shown in (2.149a) can also be used when the subjects of both clauses are co-referential, as in (2.150). The second strategy, shown in (2.149b), can only be used where the subject of the main clause is different from that of the subordinate clause. The example below is of a complex sentence in which the subject of the main and subordinate clause is the same:

(2.150)

|             |                |              |              |
|-------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| escuela -ma | shamu -shka -y | Guillermo-ta | riku -ka -ni |
| school -DAT | come -ANT-LOC  | NAME -ACC    | see -PST -1  |

‘When I came to school, I saw Guillermo.’

el\_02102013 103

Given the semantics of the verbs used in the examples above, it could be argued that the situation described by the main clause follows the subordinate clause situation. I discuss the anteriority clauses in the following section, showing that a different subordination strategy is used if the speaker intends to convey that the two events in the clause are not simultaneous.

## ii. Anteriority

In the anteriority constructions, the subordinate clause event takes place before the main clause event. The subordinate verb is marked by the anterior/resultative suffix *-shka*. A temporal adverbial *washa* follows the subordinate verb.

(2.151)

|           |        |            |              |
|-----------|--------|------------|--------------|
| Miku-shka | washa, | plato-ra   | maylla-ka-ni |
| eat -ANT  | after  | plate -ACC | wash -PST -1 |

‘After eating/having eaten, I washed the dishes.’

el\_02102013 105

(2.152)

|           |           |        |            |               |
|-----------|-----------|--------|------------|---------------|
| Wawa-wna  | miku-shka | washa, | plato-ra   | maylla-ka-ni. |
| child -PL | eat -ANT  | after  | plate -ACC | wash -PST -1  |

‘After the children ate, I washed the dishes.’

el\_02102013 107

(2.153)

- Consultants evaluated (2.153a) as equivalent to (2.152), despite the fact that it does not make it explicit that one action followed the other, and in that resembles the DS simultaneity clause discussed above. Interestingly, a combination of the DS suffix *-kpi* with the temporal adverbial *washa* ('after') was judged ungrammatical. More in-depth research is needed, however, to account for this co-occurrence restriction.

Posteriority clauses describe events that happened after those of the main clause. In these constructions, the time adverbial *manara* always precedes the subordinate clause.<sup>25</sup> Consider:

el 02102013 109

126

(2.155)

- a. *Manara mikunara wawawna mikushkay,*  
mana -ta miku-na -ta wawa-guna miku-shka -pi  
NEG-ACC eat -INF-ACC child -PL eat -ANT-LOC

*kucharara kukani.*

kuchara -ta ku -ka -ni

spoon -ACC give -PST -1

‘Before the children ate the food, I gave [them] spoons.’

- b. *Manara mikunara wawawna mikukpi,*  
mana -ta miku -na -ta wawa -guna miku-kpi  
NEG-ACC eat -AC.NMLZ-ACC child -PL eat -SWREF

*kucharara kukani (wawawnama ).*

kuchara-ta ku -ka -ni wawa-guna -ma

spoon -ACC give -PST -1 child -PL -DAT

‘Before the children ate, I gave spoons (to the children).’

eI\_02102013 115

The examples above show that in posteriority clauses, like in the other adverbial clause types described above, switch-reference constructions can be expressed by two types of structures. The first one, shown in (2.155a), is analogous to the posteriority construction where the subjects of both clauses are co-referential. The second one, (2.155b), can only be used in switch-reference constructions.

#### iv. Cause

This type of adverbial clause ‘describes the (non-intentional) event causing the main clause event’ (Hengeveld 1991:15). Consider:

(2.156)

- manga rupa -shka, nina -y chura-kpi  
pot hot -ANT fire -LOC put -SWREF

‘The pot burned because (someone) put it in the fire.’

eI\_02102013 124



In (2.156), the suffix *-shka* functions as the main verb tense marker, indicating a past event with present relevance. The subordinate verb is affixed with the suffix *-kpi*, indicating switch-reference. The subject of the subordinate clause, although not specified, is different from that of the main clause. In (2.157), the subject of the main and subordinate clause is the same:

(2.157)

|      |         |      |            |         |      |             |
|------|---------|------|------------|---------|------|-------------|
| yura | ña      | mana | bali-n,    | tamya-y | uku  | -sha        |
| wood | already | NEG  | be.good -3 | rain    | -LOC | get.wet-COR |

‘[The] wood is no good anymore, having gotten wet in the rain.’

el\_02102013 127

The examples above show, that in case of cause adverbial clauses, it is only the same/different subject reference that is indicated on the subordinate verb, while the causal interpretation arises by virtue of the meaning of the conjoined clauses. A similar situation obtains also for manner/means clauses, discussed below.

#### v. Manner/Means

Manner clauses ‘describe the way the main clause event is executed’, while means clauses specify ‘the means by which the main clause event is achieved’ (Hengeveld 1991). The fact that these types of clauses describe manner or means by which the main action was executed, implies that both the main and subordinate clause occur simultaneously and have the same subject. In line with this observation, TK means and manner clauses use the co-reference suffix *-sha* on the subordinate verb:

(2.158)

|            |             |               |
|------------|-------------|---------------|
| wawa -guna | kapari -sha | shamu -nuka   |
| child -PL  | shout -COR  | come -3PL.PST |

‘The children came, shouting.’

el\_02102013 122

(2.159)

|       |                     |     |      |            |       |            |               |
|-------|---------------------|-----|------|------------|-------|------------|---------------|
| Jorge | [taku               | -ra | /-wa | shita-sha] | ashka | aychawa-ra | wan-chi-ka.   |
| NAME  | dynamite-ACC/-INSTR | hit | -COR | much       | fish  | -ACC       | die -CAUS-PST |

‘Jorge killed a lot of fish hitting (them) with dynamite.’

el\_02102013 189

There is an important difference between the two sentences shown above. In the manner clause in (2.158), the subordinate verb functions in a manner akin to an adverbial modifier. In the means clause in (2.159), the subordinate verb takes an oblique/direct object argument, indicating the object by means of which the action of the main verb was performed. The argument occurring in the subordinate clause can either be marked with ACC, as the DIR.OBJ of the subordinate verb, or with INSTR, as the instrument of the main verb. The properties of arguments which allow such marking require further investigation.

#### vi. Purpose

Purpose clauses in TK seem to encompass both ‘purpose’ and ‘reason’ clauses as defined by Thompson et al. (2007). According to their definition, ‘purpose clauses express a motivating event which must be *unrealised* at the time of the main event, while reason clauses express a motivating event which may be *realised* at the time of the main clause event’ (Thompson et al. 2007: 250-1). As far as the data show, this realised/unrealised distinction is irrelevant to TK.

In purpose clauses, several different subordination strategies are possible. Example (2.160) is of a complex clause in which subjects of both clauses are co-referential. The subordinate verb can be suffixed with the future marker *-nga*, followed immediately by the purpose suffix *-wa*, as in (2.160a), or suffixed only with the purpose marker *-ngaj* (possibly derived from the FUT marker *-nga*), as in (2.160b):

(2.160)

- |    |       |           |              |             |                 |
|----|-------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|
| a. | kay   | botas -ta | randi -ka-ni | sacha -ma   | puri -nga -wa   |
|    | P.DEM | shoes-ACC | buy-PST-1    | jungle -DAT | walk -FUT -PURP |
| b. | kay   | botas-ta  | randi-ka-ni  | sacha-ma    | puri-ngaj       |
|    | P.DEM | shoes-ACC | buy-PST-1    | jungle -DAT | go-PURP         |

‘I bought these boots to walk in the jungle.’

el\_02102013 187

Unlike in other types of subordinate clauses described in this section, the same subordination strategies can be used if the subjects of the main and the subordinate clause are not co-referential. Consider:

(2.161)

- a. Kay      awio-ra              apa-mu-ni              kan      kama-nga-wa  
       P.DEM avio.fruit-ACC    take-CIS-1              2SG      try -FUT-PURP
- b. Kay      awio-ra              apa -mu-ni              kan      kama -ngaj  
       P.DEM avio.fruit-ACC    take-CIS-1              2SG      try -PURP  
       ‘I brought you this avío fruit so that you try.’

el\_02102013 185

As far as the data show, the two strategies shown above can be used interchangeably.

#### vii. Reason

Reason clauses ‘describe a consideration that led a main clause participant to engage in the main clause event’ (Hengeveld 1991:15). The subordination strategy used in TK reason clauses is the use of the co-reference/switch reference marking suffixes. Consider:

(2.162)

- a. Pablo              miku -n              yarka -y              -ra              chari-sha  
       NAME              eat -3              hunger -OBJ.NMLZ -ACC              have-COR  
       ‘Pablo eats because he is hungry (lit. having hunger).’

el\_310502013\_1 348

- b. Pablo    miku -n              yarka -chi              -kpi  
       NAME eat -3              hunger -CAUS -SWREF  
       ‘Pablo eats because he is hungry (lt. because hunger causes him [to]).’

el\_310502013\_1 343

In (2.162a), Pablo is the subject of both the main and subordinate verb – he is eating, and he ‘has hunger’. In (2.162b), the ‘switch reference’ suffix *-kpi* is used together with the causative suffix *-chi*, indicating that in the adverbial clause, Pablo is not the subject of being hungry, but rather, hunger is caused to him – hence, the matrix and subordinate clause have different subjects. As in case of manner/means and cause clauses discussed above, it seems that in reason clauses, the reason interpretation arises by virtue of the semantic content of the clause, rather than a specific construction type.

## **Chapter 3      Morphosyntax and basic semantics of free enclitics: delimiting the class of TK discourse markers**

Tena Kichwa, like other Quechua varieties, has a class of markers which attach to hosts from different grammatical categories, and the meaning of which is related to pragmatic structuring of discourse rather than to its truth-conditional content. In previous literature on Quechuan, expressions encoding discourse-related and epistemic meanings, including the evidential markers, have been consistently analysed as enclitics (cf. e.g. Parker 1969; Weber 1986; Faller 2002; Adelaar with Muysken 2004). In this chapter, I describe the morphosyntax and basic semantics of the TK ‘free enclitics’, with the following objectives: (1) to determine whether they can be analysed as enclitics, (2) to verify whether they form a morphosyntactic system<sup>26</sup> and (3) to establish whether it is accurate to describe them as discourse markers.

The chapter is divided into four parts. Firstly, I define the notion of ‘discourse markers’ (3.1). Secondly, I discuss the cross-linguistic properties of (discourse) clitics, and provide a list of language-specific criteria to distinguish clitics from other types of bound morphemes in TK (3.2). Thirdly, I list the enclitics attested in the TK corpus and describe their basic morphosyntactic and syntactic properties (3.3). Finally, I bring together the definitions and the data, proposing that a class of TK discourse enclitics does exist, but that it does not include all markers which can be classified as enclitics on morphosyntactic grounds (3.4).

### **3.1 Discourse markers in TK: towards a definition**

Discourse markers were initially defined as ‘sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of talk’ (Schiffrin 1987: 31), used to increase discourse coherence. While the term was introduced by Schiffrin (1987), interest in studying expressions enhancing text cohesion goes back to the seminal work of Halliday and Hasan (1976).

---

<sup>26</sup> Understood as ‘a distributionally coherent set of linguistic expressions’ (Boye 2012: 48).

Schiffrin (1987) focused on utterance-initial, non-obligatory linguistic expressions, which both increase text coherence and have other functions in discourse, but she did not delimit a specific class of expressions. For Fraser (e.g. 1990; 1996; 2009) ‘discourse markers’ were a subtype of what he calls ‘pragmatic markers’ – markers which have ‘pragmatic’ meaning, distinct from ‘content’ meaning. His content vs. pragmatic distinction is akin to the relevance-theoretic division between explicature and implicature, where explicature results from developing the logical form of the utterance, and implicature is a combination of explicatures and contextual assumptions (cf. e.g. Sperber & Wilson 1995). Fraser divides pragmatic markers into several classes, treating Schiffrin’s (1987) ‘discourse markers’ as a subclass of ‘commentary pragmatic markers’, signalling how the current utterance relates to prior discourse (Fraser 1990).

Fraser’s approach equates ‘discourse markers’ with ‘discourse connectives’, i.e. expressions used to link units of discourse. More recent research shows, however, that discourse connectives are perhaps the best-described, but just one of the classes of discourse markers (Pons Bordería 2001: 226-9). Discourse connectives always connect two different discourse objects, be it events, states or propositions (Asher 1993, cited in Zufferey & Degand 2013:1) – they include expressions such as *and*, *then*, *but*. Discourse markers, on the other hand, scope over only one discourse object (Zufferey & Degand 2013: 1). They include expressions like *well* and *you know*. The definitional characteristics of the discourse markers is that they have to operate on the level of discourse, that is, link different units of discourse beyond the level of the sentence (cf. Degand 2016). In this thesis, I differentiate between discourse markers and discourse connectives, but in the literature the two notions are often treated as interchangeable. In fact, the boundaries of the class of discourse markers tend to be delimited differently by different authors (cf. Lenk 1997: 1-2), which can make navigating the literature on the topic a confusing task.

Different subdivisions have been suggested for the class of discourse markers (cf. e.g. Pons Bordería 2001; Zufferey & Degand 2013), and reviewing all of them is beyond the scope of this thesis. A sub-category of discourse markers relevant to this thesis is that of ‘interpersonal’ discourse markers (cf. e.g. Maschler 2012). The function of interpersonal markers is to negotiate the relationship between the speakers in

discourse. This includes indicating different aspects of their role in discourse, as well as their relationship to the information conveyed. A subtype of interpersonal markers are ‘epistemic discourse markers’, used to negotiate or index the role of the speaker with respect to the information conveyed (cf. Maschler & Schiffrin 2015). In the sections that follow, I show that TK marks such interpersonal/epistemic meanings with a paradigm of discourse enclitics.

Cross-linguistically, discourse markers have been analysed as contributing a particular kind of meaning to the utterance. As mentioned above, Fraser (1996) sees them as contributing to ‘pragmatic, rather than propositional meaning’. Blakemore, who (2002) analysed discourse markers using Relevance Theory, pointed out that they raise important questions about how linguistic expressions relate to context. Blakemore (2002) viewed semantics as part of grammar which deals with meanings that are linguistically encoded, in isolation from context (cf. Rosales Sequeiros 2012: 21). She proposes that discourse markers do not make a contribution to the meaning of the utterance or proposition per se, but rather have ‘procedural meaning’, i.e. provide cues for interpretation of utterances by constraining the derivation of implicatures (Blakemore 2002: chap. 5; Rosales Sequeiros 2012: sec. 4.2). While the distinction between ‘procedural’ and ‘conceptual’ meaning is specific to Relevance Theory, it relates to the distinction between truth-conditional and non-truth-conditional meaning as understood more generally within semantic and pragmatic research. The notions of truth-conditional and non-truth conditional meaning are introduced below.

The truth-conditional approach to semantics assumes that language is used primarily to describe the world. Consequently, for every sentence, there is a set of conditions that have to apply in the world for the utterance of that sentence to be true. These are the *truth-conditions* of an utterance (Rosales Sequeiros 2012: 5). If a linguistic expression has a truth-conditional meaning, it makes a difference to the truth conditions of the utterance in which it occurs: it affects what the world would have to look like for that utterance to be true. In truth-conditional semantics, the truth-conditional meaning of an utterance is considered its core meaning – the *proposition expressed* (cf. e.g. Rosales Sequeiros 2012: 24). However, there are also meaningful linguistic expressions which do not describe states of affairs in the world, but modify

different aspects of verbal communication. Since such expressions do not contribute to the truth conditions of an utterance, their meaning is non-truth-conditional. Most discourse connectives are considered to have non-truth-conditional meaning (cf. e.g. Blakemore 2002: chap. 2).

In TK, two classes of expressions qualify as discourse markers according to the definitions given above. The first are independent lexical words which indicate relations between the different segments of discourse, marking relations such as causality, contradiction etc.<sup>27</sup>

(3.1)

Chi-raygu                      ñuka    pagrachu-ni ashka-ra                      Awa   Yaya   Dios-ta.  
D.DEM-CAUSAL    1SG    thank-1                      much-ACC    high    father   god-ACC

Pay=**mi**                      ñukanchi-ra    fuersa-ra                      ku-shka,    inteligencia-ra    ku-shka...  
3SG=**mi**                      1PL-ACC                      strength-ACC    give-ANT    intelligence-ACC    give-ANT  
‘That’s why I thank High Father God very much. He has given us strength, he has given us intelligence [to keep working].’

in\_03072013\_02    048-9

In (3.1) the adverbial *chiraygu* functions as a causal connective, linking the proposition given in the example to the previous one in discourse. This and similar expressions fit Schifffrin’s (1987) and Fraser’s (1990) definition of discourse markers: they are (often) clause-initial, and indicate the relationship between units of discourse. In this thesis, I refer to these lexical words as ‘discourse particles’.

The enclitic =*mi* shown in (3.1) is an example of the second class of TK discourse markers: word-final bound morphemes, occurring on hosts from different word classes. These word-final particles enhance effective communication, but the meaning of most of them cannot be defined in terms of linking discourse units. Consequently, they can be distinguished from discourse connective particles not only on the basis of their morphosyntax, but also on the basis of their semantics. These word-final ‘discourse markers’ are the focus of the remainder of this thesis.

---

<sup>27</sup> An attempt at cataloguing discourse relations has been made e.g. by Prasad et al. (2007), but no catalogue of them that would be universally accepted and used in linguistic research has been created to date (Manfred Stede, p.c. 06/02/2017).

## 3.2 TK discourse enclitics: basis for analysis

The word-final particles introduced above have consistently been analysed as enclitics within Quechuan studies (cf. e.g. Cusihuamán 1976; Cole 1982; Cerrón-Palomino 1976; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002; Sánchez 2010). As far as I am aware, they have not previously been described in Quechuan studies as ‘discourse markers’, but their characteristics mentioned by the grammatical descriptions are consistent with this analysis. Cusihuamán notes that the Cuzco Quechua enclitics occur on the ‘utterance level’, and that some of them are used as linguistic devices which conjoin several utterances in discourse (1976: 81). Cerrón-Palomino (1987: 287) observes that the enclitics either relate the speaker to the utterance, or the utterances to one another.

In this and the following sections, I show that the analysis of TK word-final particles as enclitics also obtains in TK, and is compatible with their interpretation as discourse markers. First, I discuss the cross-linguistic properties of clitics (3.2.1). Subsequently, I propose a list of criteria that can be used language-internally in order to single out members of the TK class of discourse enclitics (3.2.2).

### 3.2.1 Defining the cross-linguistic properties of clitics

The first study of clitics dates back to the XIX<sup>th</sup> century (Wackernagel 1892), but their exploration within modern linguistics was pioneered by Zwicky (1977), who defined clitics as phonologically dependent forms. Consequently, Zwicky and Pullum (1983) proposed a set of criteria which distinguish clitics from affixes, cited in Figure 3.1:

#### **Figure 3.1 Criteria for distinguishing clitics and affixes**

- A. Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.
- B. Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of a clitic groups.
- C. Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.



- D. Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.
- E. Lexical integrity: Syntactic rules can affect words, but cannot affect clitic groups.
- F. Clitic-affix ordering: Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

The wording of criteria A and F is self-explanatory, and consequently the discussion below concentrates on the criteria B-E. While both affixes and clitics are bound elements, for Zwicky and Pullum (1983) the difference between them seems to lie in the fact that affixes are associated with words, and ‘hence with the kinds of idiosyncrasies to which words are subject’ (Spencer & Luis 2012: 108). Clitics, on the other hand, are associated with phrases, and thus ‘show the kind of regularity and well-behavedness that we more usually associate with syntax’ (Spencer & Luis 2012:108). Consequently, Zwicky and Pullum also predict that clitics should show fewer arbitrary gaps in combination with their hosts than affixes do (criterion B). Spencer and Luis point to the fact that inflectional paradigms across languages exhibit arbitrary gaps (2012: 109), while on criterion B, clitics are not supposed to have gaps in their paradigms. However, this is not always the case, as shown e.g. by Miller (1992: 175-6) in his discussion of French pronominal clitics.

The criteria C and D state that affixed words are more prone to morphophonological and semantic irregularities, respectively, than combinations of clitics with their hosts. The ‘morphophonological idiosyncrasies’ are irregular changes in the phonological form, which cannot be predicted from regular phonological processes affecting other words or groups of words. Zwicky and Pullum predict that such irregularities occur more often in combination of stems and affixes than in those of clitic hosts and clitics. By the same token, the ‘semantic idiosyncrasies’ (criterion D), whereby the same affix can express different meanings, should not apply to clitics, which are supposed to have a single meaning across contexts (cf. Spencer & Luis 2012: 109-10). The criterion E refers to ‘lexical integrity’ and states that clitic groups cannot be affected by syntactic processes independently of their host. That is, a host=clitic combination behaves syntactically like a word, just like the stem-affix combination.

The above criteria became a point of reference for further work on clitics in many languages. However, they do not describe properties of clitics per se, but rather list their properties as relative to those of affixes. This, in turn, makes Zwicky and Pullum's criteria difficult to apply in this thesis without providing a detailed discussion of the characteristics of different types of TK affixes – something that falls outside the scope of this study. Consequently, a set of properties of clitics more suited for my research purposes is the one devised by Spencer and Luís (2012), presented in Figure 3.2.

### **Figure 3.2 Properties of clitics**

1. Clitics express functional (inflectional) categories or discourse functions.
2. Clitics are generally unstressed (and unstressable).
3. Clitics require a host to attach to.
4. Clitics show low selectivity towards their hosts (promiscuous attachment).
5. Clitics typically appear in rigidly ordered clusters (templates).
6. Clitics and clitic clusters often have different syntax from fully-fledged words.

Adapted from Spencer & Luís (2012: 37)

The properties listed in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2 overlap to a large extent, which could lead us to conclude that once a bound linguistic item has been defined as not being an affix, it can be straightforwardly be analysed as clitic. However, cross-linguistically the properties of clitics can vary, and in a given language they need not exhibit all the properties listed above. Rather, the cross-linguistic affix-clitic distinction is more a matter of degree.

Both sets of properties state that clitics attach to words from different word-classes – Zwicky and Pullum call this 'low selectivity' (criterion A) and Spencer and Luís refer to this characteristic as 'promiscuous attachment' (property 4). Zwicky and Pullum's set of criteria does not state explicitly that clitics are phonologically dependent on their hosts, but it assumes so in comparing them to affixes, which are bound and phonologically dependent (Zwicky & Pullum 1983: 502). Spencer and

Luís's properties 2 and 3 account for the same property, stating that clitics require a host, and are generally unstressed. Zwicky and Pullum's criteria E and F stem from the assumption that 'no syntactic operations apply after cliticisation' (Zwicky & Pullum 1983: 504). The rigid ordering of clitic clusters from Spencer and Luís's property 5 is somewhat similar in nature, although it does not determine the ordering of cliticisation with respect to other morphosyntactic processes.

The properties listed by Spencer and Luís which do not have parallels in Zwicky and Pullum's (1983) criteria are those numbered 1, 6 and 7. Importantly from the point of view of this thesis, Spencer and Luís's property 1 distinguishes between clitics marking 'inflectional categories' and 'discourse functions'. Inflectional categories are syntactically obligatory, (e.g. tense), whereas 'discourse functions' are context-dependent and not required by syntax (see Section 3.1). Spencer and Luís's division between 'inflectional' and 'discourse' clitics is mirrored in other analyses of clitics, e.g. by Anderson, who distinguishes between clitics 'representing grammatical material', and those with 'more semantic content', such as discourse markers and adverbials (2005: 4).

Property 6 states that the syntax of clitics and clitic clusters often differs from that of fully-fledged words. In discussing this property, Spencer and Luís refer mainly to the second position (2P) clitics, which appear after the first accented word or phrase in the clause (Spencer & Luís 2012: 17). They suggest that clitics, unlike affixes, 'show considerable sensitivity to syntax', but are still essentially 'morphological objects' which depend phonologically, prosodically, and – to varying extents – syntactically – on their hosts (cf. Spencer & Luís 2012: 176-7). Consequently, the distribution of 'fully fledged' words is much freer than that of clitic (clusters).

In the case of Tena Kichwa, comparing the syntax of clitics with that of free stems from other grammatical categories seems to be of limited descriptive or analytical use. The TK clitics only have 'prosodically bound forms' (Anderson 2005: 18), and therefore, in terms of their 'word-ness' (cf. Kibrik 2011), they resemble affixes much more than unbound stems. The semantic and syntactic differences between TK affixes and clitics are already captured by the other properties proposed by Spencer and Luís. Most notably, unlike affixes, TK clitics attach to host from different word classes, and their participation in the stress assignment of their host is optional.

### 3.2.2 Properties of discourse enclitics in TK

Drawing on the characteristics of clitics discussed above, I propose a list of properties that can be used to determine membership in the class of ‘discourse enclitics’ in TK:

#### **Figure 3.3 Properties of TK discourse enclitics**

- A. Promiscuous attachment/ low host selectivity.
- B. Phonological and prosodic dependency on the host.
- C. Little morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasy.
- D. Being subject to few co-occurrence restrictions.
- E. Position at the right edge of the word, in rigidly ordered clusters.
- F. Expressing meanings related to discourse, rather than required by syntax.

The properties listed in Figure 3.3 encompass the most important aspects of the general clitic properties discussed in Section 3.2.1, and make them relevant to TK. Properties A to E account for the phonological, prosodic and morphosyntactic characteristics a marker should exhibit to be analysed as a clitic. Property E, which specifies that clitics should be positioned at the right edge of the word, is based on the fact that TK is exclusively suffixing, and all clitics in TK are in fact enclitics. Property F introduces a functional criterion which a marker should meet in order to be analysed as a ‘discourse’, rather than an ‘inflectional’ enclitic.

Notions such as ‘discourse’ and ‘context’ as understood in this thesis were defined in Section 1.3.2, but I re-introduce them for the sake of clarity. I understand ‘discourse’ as ‘a coherent string of propositions’ (Dijk 2010: 182), that is, a string of conceptually related propositions. The ‘context’ of any given discourse refers to extra-linguistic aspects of the speech situation, including, but not limited to: situational and communicative setting, relationships between interlocutors, and the interlocutors’ assumptions about one another’s state of mind.

From these definitions, it follows that markers required for syntactic well-formedness of clauses, or expressing context-independent grammatical meanings, should not be analysed as ‘discourse markers’. The occurrence of discourse enclitics is not conditioned by syntax. Rather, they are used to enhance discourse coherence by

encoding ‘cues for interpretation, (...) emphasis, rhetorical effects, or the attitude of the speaker’ (cf. Spencer & Luis 2012: 35).

### **3.3 Inventory and distribution of TK enclitics**

This section describes the basic morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the enclitics attested in the TK corpus. The markers were selected on the basis of the criterion of low selectivity/promiscuous attachment (see Section 3.2.1). I included all the markers which were attested to occur on hosts from more than one major TK word-class. Markers which occur on nouns, adjectives and pronouns were not included as exhibiting promiscuous attachment, since all these sub-classes belong to the major word-class of nominals (see Chapter 2). Markers which occurred on both nominals and nominalised verbs functioning as arguments, or on verbs and de-verbal nouns, were considered to belong to nominal and verbal inflection patterns, respectively, and were also not considered here. This left fifteen markers, which I describe below.

#### **3.3.1 Inventory of TK enclitics**

The class of enclitics presented below have been identified by means of mining the 13-hour corpus of TK and by comparing the TK data with previous work on Quechuan (e.g. Parker 1969; Cole 1982; Weber 1986; Cusihuamán 2001). Nonetheless, the analysis presented in this and the following sections is based mainly on the ‘elicited discourse’ part of the corpus (see Section 1.3.4.2) comprising 2:03h of elicited discourse, i.e. 1537 turns uttered by six native speakers (3 female, 3 male, aged 18-ca.50). Where possible and/or necessary, the elicited discourse data are supplemented by data from the 11h corpus of naturalistic discourse. Since that part of the corpus has been transcribed and translated, but not fully parsed and glossed, information such as the total number of tokens of a given marker were only extracted in cases where the phonological shape of the discourse marker in question did not coincide with (a combination of) other inflectional or derivational markers. Figure 3.4 shows all the enclitics attested in the TK corpus and briefly describes how they have been analysed previously.

**Figure 3.4 Inventory of TK markers exhibiting low host selectivity**

| <b>Enclitic</b> | <b>Selected previous descriptions</b>   |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>=ga</b>      | Topic marker (cf. e.g. Parker 1969; Cerrón-Palomino 1976; Muysken 1995; Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Faller 2002; Sánchez 2010; Muntendam 2015)  |
| <b>=mi</b>      | Validational (e.g. Cole 1982),<br>Direct evidential (Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002),<br>Best Possible Ground marker (Faller 2002),<br>Focus marker (Muysken 1995; Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Sánchez 2010; 2015) |
| <b>=ma</b>      | Emphatic equivalent of =mi (Cole 1982),<br>Direct experience marker (Hintz & Hintz 2014a),<br>Marker of surprise (Faller 2002),<br>Impressive/emphatic marker (Cusihuamán 1976/2001)                              |
| <b>=mari</b>    | Emphatic equivalent of =mi (e.g. Cole 1982; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002)  |
| <b>=tá</b>      | Not attested in other varieties / Verum focus marker  |
| <b>=chu</b>     | Negation and polar question marker (e.g. Cole 1982; Weber 1989; Cusihuamán 1976/2001)   |
| <b>=cha</b>     | Validational (e.g. Adelaar 1977; Cole 1982),<br>Inferential/conjectural evidential (Hintz & Hintz 2014; Weber 1986; Floyd 1997), and also epistemic modal (e.g. Faller 2002).                                     |
| <b>=chari</b>   | Emphatic equivalent of =cha (e.g. Faller 2002)  |
| <b>=ta</b>      | Possible cognate of question marker -taq (cf. Weber 1989).  |
| <b>=y</b>       | Not attested in other varieties/ Emphatic marker  |
| <b>=lla</b>     | Limitative marker (e.g. Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Faller 2002), ‘just’ (Cole 1982)  |
| <b>=llara</b>   | Not attested in other varieties/ ‘identity of reference’ marker   |
| <b>=pas</b>     | Additive (e.g. Cole 1982; Cusihuamán 2001; Faller 2002)   |
| <b>=guti</b>    | Not attested in other varieties/ Causal discourse connective  |
| <b>=ri</b>      | Question marker (Itier 2011: 81),<br>Responsive/interrogative topic marker (Cusihuamán 2001),<br>Cognate of emphatic =ari (Adelaar 2013:106)  |

Figure 3.4 shows that the inventory of TK enclitics differs from those described for other varieties. For instance the ‘certainty enclitic’ *=puni*, found in Peruvian Quechua (Parker 1969; Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Faller 2002), does not occur in TK (although it is functionally similar to the marker *=tá*, see Section 3.3.2.5).

Parker (1969: 85) describes Ayacucho Quechua word stress shifts from its default position on the penultimate syllable to the final syllable as an enclitic */=Á/*. In Ayacucho, this stress shift conveys emphasis, and occurs ‘only in polite or intimate address’. Adelaar (2013: 107) describes a similar phenomenon in Tarma Quechua, where the stress shift, certain clitics, or combination of both, are characteristic of exclamations. The shift of word stress from penultimate to final syllable also occurs in TK. I regard it as a prosodic strategy, and briefly discuss it in Section 3.3.2.5, in relation to the properties it shares with the enclitic *=tá*.

Little has been said in previous work on Quechua about the frequency with which the enclitics listed above occur in discourse. One of the exceptions is Wanka Quechua, for which *=mi* occurred ‘in 66% of utterances in which it was grammatically permissible’ (Floyd 1997). This statement is difficult to compare with the TK data, since the criteria of ‘grammatical permissibility’ were not specified further. However, *=mi* has occurred in under 6% of all turns in the analysed part of the corpus, which is radically different from the 66% given by Floyd.

Table 3.1 shows the total number of occurrences of each marker in the corpus of elicited discourse (1537 turns), and their mean occurrence rate, with the exception of *=ri*, not attested in the elicited discourse corpus. The figures in Table 3.1 are more in line with the numbers given by Weber (1989: 428), who states that in the sample of Huánuco Quechua texts he analysed, the ‘topic’ marker *=qa* occurs at most 0.67 times per sentence, and ‘evidential’ markers at most 0.57 times. While comparing the frequencies with which the enclitics occur across varieties would be a likely source of insight into their function in discourse, such comparative research will not be pursued here for reasons of space.

**Table 3.1 Occurrence of discourse markers in the elicited discourse corpus**

| No | Marker | Occurrences in the corpus | Mean occurrence rate <sup>28</sup> |
|----|--------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1  | ga     | 112                       | 0.07287                            |
| 2  | lla    | 104                       | 0.06766                            |
| 3  | mi     | 92                        | 0.05986                            |
| 4  | llara  | 76                        | 0.04945                            |
| 5  | ma     | 48                        | 0.03123                            |
| 6  | pas    | 48                        | 0.03123                            |
| 7  | chu    | 43                        | 0.027977                           |
| 8  | cha    | 33                        | 0.021470                           |
| 9  | ta     | 28                        | 0.018217                           |
| 10 | y      | 28                        | 0.018217                           |
| 11 | chari  | 16                        | 0.01106                            |
| 12 | guti   | 13                        | 0.00846                            |
| 13 | mari   | 13                        | 0.00846                            |
| 14 | tá     | 4                         | 0.00260                            |
| 15 | ri     | n/a                       | n/a                                |

The varying numbers of tokens also translate into varying possibilities of analysis, which I take into account in the ensuing discussion. As mentioned above, when necessary, I provide examples from other parts of the corpus.

### 3.3.2 Morphosyntactic properties of TK enclitics

In this section, I discuss the basic morphosyntax and semantics of the enclitics listed in Figure 3.4.<sup>29</sup> For each marker, I discuss (a) which phrasal categories it attaches to; (b) its function; (c) its co-occurrence restrictions (d) its contribution to the stress

<sup>28</sup> This measure indicates how frequently, on average, a given marker occurs per turn. To calculate it, I have divided the number of occurrences of each marker in the corpus by the number of turns (1537) in the elicited discourse corpus.

<sup>29</sup> In the previous chapters, some of the particles discussed in this section were assigned interpretative glosses. In this section, I do not provide interpretative glosses for the enclitics, so as not to distract the reader from their properties. In the following chapters, the markers which are not included in the ‘discourse enclitic’ paradigm are assigned interpretative glosses.



pattern of its hosts.<sup>30</sup> Each sub-section finishes with a summary of the morphosyntactic features of the marker.

### 3.3.2.1 =ga

There are 112 tokens of =ga in the 2-hour part of the corpus considered in this chapter. In most described Quechuan varieties, =ga and its cognates, =ka and =qa, have been analysed as topic markers (cf. e.g. Parker 1969; Cerrón-Palomino 1976; Muysken 1995; Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Faller 2002; Sánchez 2010; Muntendam 2015), although Sánchez (2010: 91) mentions an early analysis based on the notion of saliency, where =qa was analysed as marking focus. In Unified Kichwa (see Section 1.2.2), due to the absence of contrast between the voiced and unvoiced velar stops, the marker is pronounced [ka] in all environments. Consequently, inter-speaker variation exists in TK between the [ka] and [ga] pronunciations. In what follows, I refer to the marker as =ga. Table 3.2 presents the distribution of the tokens of =ga with different types of hosts:

**Table 3.2 Distribution of =ga with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb | Adverb | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|------|--------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 25   | 53      | 17   | 11     | 6        | 112 |
| Percentage of tokens | 22.3 | 47.3    | 15.2 | 9.8    | 5.4      | 100 |

Table 3.2 shows that almost 70% of the token of =ga occur on nouns, and personal and demonstrative pronouns. A further 15.2% occur on verbs, all of which are non-finite or nominalised. 9.8% occur on adverbs of place and time. The remaining 5% occur on discourse connectives such as ‘on the other hand’ (*randi*) (n=5) and ‘then’ (*shinakpi*) (n=1). The implications of such distribution for the analysis of =ga as a topic marker are discussed in Section 4.4.

Like all the other TK enclitics, =ga always attaches at the right edge of the host, following the inflectional morphology:

<sup>30</sup> On the basis of qualitative analyses of pitch, intensity, and duration of the syllables of the host with and without the enclitic in question.

(3.2)

|                    |              |             |                |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Chimandaga,</i> | <i>mayta</i> | <i>rina</i> | <i>rangay,</i> |
| chi -manda =ga     | may =ta      | ri -na      | ra -nga =y     |
| D.DEM -ABL=ga      | where =ta    | go-INF      | do -FUT =y     |

|            |              |                          |
|------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| <i>kay</i> | <i>wagra</i> | <i>shayashkamandaga?</i> |
| kay        | wagra        | shaya -shka -manda =ga   |
| P.DEM      | cow          | stand -ANT -ABL =ga      |

‘From there, where should one go, from where the cow is standing?’

el\_22102014\_01 013

Note that all the items from all the grammatical categories which act as hosts for =ga can also function as phrasal heads. In (3.2), =ga occurs twice: on a pronoun functioning as the head of an oblique pronominal phrase, and on a nominalised verb in a locative relative clause, co-referential with the =ga-marked oblique. In all examples of =ga occurring on nominal and pronominal phrases, the marker attaches to the head of the phrase, which, given that TK is a head-final language, also coincides with the right edge of the phrase:

(3.3)

a. [chi                      ñambi=ga ] may=ta      ri-n,                      awa pura-ma?  
      D.DEM                  path =ga                  where=ta      go-3                      high side -DAT  
      ‘Where does this road go, up?’

el\_28112014\_06 050

b. \*[chi=ga                  ñambi ]                  may-ta                  ri-n,      awa-pura-ma ?  
      D.DEM=ga                  path                  where-ACC      go-3      high-side-DAT

elicited

(3.4)

|                                 |                   |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kambajma</i>                 | <i>[chiga ]</i> , |
| kan -pa -k                  -ma | chi =ga           |
| 2SG -GEN -AG.NMLZ -DAT          | D.DEM =ga         |

*kan mangui shuwa runa.*

kan =mi/=ma<sup>31</sup> a -ngui shuwa runa

2SG =mi/=ma COP -2 thief man

‘It was at yours (your desk), you are the thief!’

el\_02122014\_05 037

In both examples in (3.3), the distal demonstrative *chi* functions as a dependent in the subject NP, and therefore, as shown in (3.3b), it cannot be affixed with =*ga*. This is not the case in (3.4), where the demonstrative itself is the head of the subject ProP (the finite verb is elided). In both ‘elicited discourse’ and ‘naturalistic discourse’ parts of the corpus, =*ga* was not attested on adjectival modifiers, which confirms the claim that it can only occur on phrasal heads (see below for discussion of VPs).

The examples above show that =*ga* can occur on subjects, as in (3.3), and obliques, as in (3.2). Example (3.5) showcases a token of =*ga* on a direct object NP:

(3.5)

*Warmimi charishka mash... audifonoraga.*

warmi =mi chari -shka mashti audifono -ta =**ga**

woman =mi have -ANT whats.its.name headphones -ACC =**ga**

‘The headphones, the woman had them.’

el\_05122014\_01 072

The distribution of =*ga* on phrases fulfilling the different grammatical roles in a clause is described in more detail in Section 4.4, where I discuss the correlation of the occurrence of =*ga* with the information structural category of topic.

The marker =*ga* also occurs on verbs and adverbs. In (3.2) above, =*ga* attached to a nominalised verb within a headless relative clause. In the 2h corpus discussed here, 17 tokens of =*ga* occurred on verbal hosts. In all these cases, however, =*ga* occurred on non-finite verbs – i.e. verbs not inflected for tense and person. Five tokens occurred on verbs affixed with suffixes *-kpi* (DS) and *-sha* (SS), indicating action concomitant to that expressed by the main verb (see Section 2.5.3.2.3):

<sup>31</sup> See Section 3.3.2.2 for discussion of the enclitic =*m*.

(3.6)

*Shinarajpi timbrariajpiga maskan mochilama.*  
shinarakpi timbra -ria -kpi=**ga** maska -n mochila -ma  
therefore sound -CONT-SWREF=**ga** look.for -3 backpack -DAT

‘So then when [the phone] rings, [he] looks in the backpack.’

el\_05122014\_01 027

(3.7)

*Shamushaga kungaymanda*  
shamu -sha =**ga** kungaymanda  
come -COR =**ga** suddenly

*paktamushkakwinta salurak shamun.*  
pakta -mu -shka -kwinta salura -k shamu -n  
arrive -CIS-ANT -SEMBL greet -AG.NMLZ come -3

‘Approaching, suddenly he comes to greet, as if he was arriving.’

el\_16082013\_02 079

The remaining twelve tokens of =*ga* on verbal hosts are all on nominalised verbs inside relative clauses (see Section 2.5.3.2.1). Consider:

(3.8)

*Kinrira pasaw warmiga...*  
[kinri -ta pasa -w ]<sub>RC</sub> warmi =**ga**  
across -ACC pass -PROG woman =**ga**

*bicicletay ajka, rinma,*  
[bicicleta -pi a -k =**ga**]<sub>RC</sub> ri -n =ma  
bicycle -LOC be -AG.NMLZ=**ga** go -3 =ma

*karura rinma pay ña.*  
karu -ta ri -n =ma pay ña  
far -ACC go -3 =ma 3SG already

‘The women who passed to the side, who was on [the] bicycle, goes, well, she goes far.’

el\_25092014\_02 54

Example (3.8) contains two relative clauses, one of which is marked with *=ga*. The marker also occurs on the head of both clauses: the noun *warmi* ('woman'). Consider also (3.9), where the marker *=ga* occurs on the adverbial modifier within the relative clause:

(3.9)

|       |       |                |   |                  |             |    |           |        |
|-------|-------|----------------|---|------------------|-------------|----|-----------|--------|
| shuk  | punda | maska-w,       | [ | washa= <b>ga</b> | a-k         | ]  | RC        |        |
| one   | first | look.for -PROG |   | after            | = <b>ga</b> | be | -AG.NMLZ  |        |
| shuk, |       | [kipa=lla      |   | a-j              | ]           | RC | shina     | chikan |
| one   |       | last =LIM      |   | be               | -AG.NMLZ    |    | like.this | apart  |

‘One is looking first, the one who is after, the one who is younger also [looks], apart.’

el\_16082013\_02 060

The examples above indicate thain relative clauses, unlike in NPs, *=ga* does not seem to have a fixed position. Nonetheless, it always occurs on heads of either VP or AdvP, which confirms the observation that it only attaches to phrasal heads.

In the 2h part of the corpus analysed here, *=ga* was not attested on finite verbs. In the bigger, 11h corpus of conversational data, *=ga* also mainly occurs on verbal hosts in environments described above. However, occurrences on finite verbs are also attested. Consider the example below:

(3.10)

|               |                         |                  |                     |
|---------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>Kumuna</i> | <i>kallarishkawnara</i> | <i>iyay</i>      | <i>chariniga...</i> |
| kumuna        | kallari-shka-guna-ta    | iya-y            | chari-ni= <b>ga</b> |
| community     | begin-ANT-PL-ACC        | thought-OBJ.NMLZ | have-1 = <b>ga</b>  |

‘I remember [lit. have an idea] about the ones who started the community...’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 015

Weber (1989: 394) mentions that in Huánuco Quechua, the marker *=ga* also does, though very seldom, occur on main verbs, and hypothesises that such occurrences might be limited to the second mention of the action referred to by the verb hosting the marker. This hypothesis is explored for TK in Section 4.4.

Tokens of =*ga* on finite verbs mostly occur on verbs in the present tense – no examples of =*ga* were attested on the same host with PST *-ka*, and when =*ga* occurred on the same host as the FUT marker *-nga*, it was never with future time reference (see Section 2.4.2.2.4). Moreover, occurrences of =*ga* on verbal hosts seem to be restricted to discourse genres such as personal narratives or ceremonial songs. For instance, out of 90 co-occurrences of =*ga* with the first person present marker *-ni*, 68 were uttered by the same participant, a *virsaru* — traditional wedding singer and violin player — as he was singing a narrative song at a wedding. The wedding chant has a specific rhythm, in which each verse consists of four syllables, and it seems that the ‘free enclitics’ are often used in such songs more liberally than in other discourse genres, as they allow the singer an opportunity to fill the gaps in the rhythm. The details of the distribution of =*ga* across discourse genres fall outside the scope of this work, but could be an interesting contribution to future research on TK discourse enclitics.

Occurrences of =*ga* are also attested on discourse connectives, such as *randi* (‘on the other hand’) or *shinakpi* (‘so’/‘therefore’):

(3.11)

|       |               |                   |      |        |
|-------|---------------|-------------------|------|--------|
| Mana. | Ñuka-j-pi     | randi= <b>ga</b>  | shuk | tunu.  |
| NEG   | 1SG -BEN -LOC | rather= <b>ga</b> | one  | manner |

‘No. In mine [the video I watched], on the other hand, it was different.’

el\_05122014\_01 045

(3.12)

|                      |      |         |         |            |      |         |
|----------------------|------|---------|---------|------------|------|---------|
| Shinakpi= <b>ga</b>  | ansa | llaki   | llaki   | tuku-nchi  | kuna | tiempo. |
| therefore= <b>ga</b> | some | feeling | feeling | become-1PL | now  | time    |

‘So then these days we have become quite troubled.’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO2 150

The occurrence of =*ga* on clausal connectives was also described by Weber (1989: 394) for Huánuco Quechua (QI). The examples above are discussed in more detail in Section 4.4.

In terms of the distributional properties of the marker, the discussion above has shown that it always occurs on the head of the syntactic constituent to which it attaches. As I show in the following sections describing the properties of TK enclitics, occurrence on phrasal heads is the property of the majority of TK word-final markers. The occurrence on phrasal heads is in line with the descriptions of cognates of *=ga* in other Quechuan dialects. I come back to the distributional similarities and differences between *=ga* in TK and its cognates in other Quechuan varieties in Section 4.4.

Another property of the TK *=ga* is that it can also occur more than once within the same clause, but not within the same phrase. Multiple occurrences of *=ga* in one clause are also discussed in more detail in Chapter 5. The examples above indicate in relative clauses, unlike in NPs, *=ga* does not seem to have a fixed position. What arises, however, is the issue of the scope the marker takes. In NPs and ProPs, where *=ga* obligatorily occurs on phrasal heads, it takes scope over the entire phrase, as in examples (3.2) and (3.3a) above. When occurring on non-finite verbs, as in (3.6) and (3.7), *=ga* takes scope over the whole subordinate clause. The scope properties of *=ga* in relative clauses require a closer investigation, but a preliminary conclusion should be that independently of its position within it, *=ga* takes scope over the whole RC. In (3.8) above, the RC is co-referential with the topical, *=ga*-marked subject. In (3.9), the occurrence of *=ga* on the first relative clause could be interpreted as associated with a contrastive topic (see Section 4.4), since the referents of both relative clauses are candidates for topicality. The marker *=ga* attaches to the locative adverb *washa* ('after'), since the two referents competing for topical status contrast in position, designated by the adverb.

Lastly, it should be underlined that in none of the contexts described above is *=ga* grammatically obligatory. Its occurrences seem to be motivated by discourse context and felicity conditions of utterances, rather than required for grammatical well-formedness of clauses. This, however, raises the question of what factors might motivate the use of *=ga* in an utterance. In Chapter 4, I explore this issue, showing that the distribution of the marker can be accounted for – at least to an extent – by considerations related to information structure.

It is also prudent to mention that the meaning conveyed by =*ga* cannot be questioned or negated, which suggest that the marker makes no contribution to the truth-conditions of the utterances in which it occurs.

There are numerous co-occurrence restrictions on =*ga*. Both parts of the corpus were mined for co-occurrences of the word-final markers, and =*ga* is attested on the same host with the additive =*pas*, the limitative =*lla* and the ‘identity of reference’ marker =*llara*. When occurring with other word-final markers, =*ga* always attaches outside them, as illustrated below:

(3.13)

|                      |   |                 |                  |                 |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Payska</i>        | / | * <i>paygas</i> | <i>maytacha,</i> | <i>rinawn,</i>  |
| pay =pas = <b>ga</b> | / | pay=ga=pas      | may =ta =cha     | ri -nun         |
| 3SG =pas = <b>ga</b> | / | 3SG=ga=pas      | where =ta =cha   | go -3PL         |
| <i>karumama</i>      |   | <i>rinawn</i>   | <i>chi</i>       | <i>wawawna.</i> |
| karu -ma =ma         |   | ri -nun         | chi              | wawa -guna      |
| far -DAT =ma         |   | go -3PL         | D.DEM            | child -PL       |

‘They too...where could they be going, they are going far, those kids.’

el\_24092014\_03 75

One exception from this rule is the co-occurrence of =*ga* with the emphatic =*ri*, which was attested only once in the entire corpus, and where =*ri* attaches outside =*ga*. As for the co-occurrence of =*ga* with the emphatic interrogative =*y* (see Section 3.3.2.10), it requires further investigation, as there seems to be inter-speaker variation as to the permissibility of the two markers occurring on the same host. For the Q/NEG marker =*chu*, several cases were attested in the corpus, but only in the ceremonial wedding songs mentioned above, where the markers are likely to be used for rhythmic purposes, even if the semantic contributions they make to the clause are contradictory. The co-occurrence of =*chu* and =*ga* is ungrammatical in everyday discourse contexts, possibly due to their association with different information-structural categories (see Chapter 4). The same is true for the remaining markers from Figure 3.4: =*mi*, =*ma*, =*mari*, =*cha*, =*chari*, =*tá*, which was confirmed in elicitation. No tokens of =*ga* were attested to co-occur with =*guti*, but the co-



occurrence possibilities of the two markers was not tested in elicitation tasks. The co-occurrence of the markers on the clausal level is discussed in Chapter 4.

The data suggests that =*ga* can, but does not have to affect stress assignment. In TK, word stress tends to fall on the penultimate syllable (see Section 2.1.2.2). Out of the 112 tokens of =*ga*, only in 10 cases was the word stress assignment of the host affected by the presence of the enclitic. Consider:

(3.14)

|           |                    |      |                |
|-----------|--------------------|------|----------------|
| a'pa.sha  | <b>kall'paw.ga</b> | ña,  | chi chu'ri.wa  |
| apa -sha  | kallpa-w =ga       | ña   | chi churi -wa  |
| take -COR | run -PROG=ga       | well | D.DEM son -DIM |

‘Now, he runs taking the fruit, that boy...’

el\_25092014\_02 43

(3.15)

|       |                  |   |     |   |
|-------|------------------|---|-----|---|
| kuti  | <b>'kall.pan</b> | , | ari | ! |
| kuti  | kallpa-n         |   | ari |   |
| again | run -3           |   | yes |   |

‘(S/he) runs again, yes!’

el\_25092014\_02 63

In (3.14) the marker =*ga* occurs on the verb, influencing its lexical stress assignment. As shown in (3.15), when the same verb is affixed with the 3SG present agreement suffix, the lexical stress is also on the penultimate syllable. A different pattern is shown below:

(3.16)

|     |                    |     |       |            |
|-----|--------------------|-----|-------|------------|
| shu | <b>'pun.da.ga,</b> | shu | 'kari | 'lluk.shin |
| shu | punda =ga          | shu | kari  | llukshi-n  |
| one | corner =ga         | one | man   | leave-3    |

‘A man goes out [at] one side...’

el\_24112014\_01 025

(3.17)

|                               |            |
|-------------------------------|------------|
| 'u.ra                         | pun'da.ma  |
| ura                           | punda-ma   |
| below                         | corner-DAT |
| 'down [there], in the corner' |            |

el\_03102014\_01 016

Examples (3.14) through (3.17) show that the effect of *=ga* on stress assignment is optional. According to the data, whether or not the marker affects stress assignment does not depend on the type of host, or on the speaker. However, a more systematic investigation of the interaction of *=ga* with different types of hosts and affixes, as well as with secondary stress, is needed in the future. This is in line with the need of a more thorough study of TK prosody and intonation in general. Only preliminary studies of these aspects of the language are available and they suggest that several TK suffixes also have an optional effect on lexical stress assignment (see Section 2.1.2.2). Nonetheless, on the basis of this preliminary analysis, we can conclude that *=ga* only optionally affects the stress pattern of its hosts.

To sum up, *=ga* can occur on hosts from every grammatical category, although it is more frequent with non-finite than with finite verbs. The marker is not grammatically obligatory in any context, but it might be required for felicity of utterances. The cognates of *=ga* were analysed as topic markers for other Quechuan varieties, and this analysis can be sustained for its occurrences on (pro)nominal hosts in TK, but is somewhat more problematic in case of *=ga* occurring on hosts from other grammatical categories. The issues pertaining to the IS function of *=ga* are discussed in detail in Section 4.4. The marker can co-occur on the same host with the enclitics *=llara*, *=pas*, and *=ri*, but not with any of the other enclitics, which is to be expected given that most of the remaining enclitics are associated with marking different types of focus structures (see Section 4.5). The marker can, but in most cases does not, affect the stress pattern of its host.

### 3.3.2.2 *=mi*

The marker *=mi* has received more attention than any other enclitic in the literature on Quechuan. It has been variously analysed as 'validational' (e.g. Adelaar 1977;

Cole 1982; Calvo Pérez 1993), a direct evidential (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997), an illocutionary modifier indicating ‘best possible ground’ (e.g. Faller 2002), an assertive marker (e.g. Nuckolls 1993), a focus marker (cf. e.g. Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010; Muntendam 2015) and a marker of epistemic certainty (cf. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997).

In the 2h corpus discussed here, 92 tokens of *=mi* were attested. Their distribution with hosts from different grammatical categories is shown in Table 3.3 below:

**Table 3.3 Distribution of *=mi* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|--------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 32   | 23      | 25             | 5      | 7        | 92  |
| Percentage of tokens | 34.8 | 25      | 27.2           | 5.4    | 7.6      | 100 |

In Table 3.3, the verb/predicate category of hosts given above includes finite, non-finite, and nominalised verbs, as well as nominal and adjectival predicates. The inclusion of the latter construction type in the category of verbal hosts is motivated by the fact that in all predicates involving periphrastic constructions several discourse enclitics, including *=mi* can occur as an enclitic on the predicate. In such cases, the copula can, especially in rapid speech, get encliticised to the predicate nominal to the right of the enclitic. When occurring in this context, the enclitic *=mi* is realised as *=m*. However, the enclitic *=m* can be disambiguated as either *=mi* or *=ma* (see Section 3.3.2.3). Consequently, the 16 tokens of the clitic *=m* found in the 2h corpus have been excluded from the count presented in this chapter. An example of *=m* is shown below:

(3.18)

|             |                |            |               |            |
|-------------|----------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>Mana</i> | <i>cocoma,</i> | <i>kay</i> | <i>shukma</i> | <i>kay</i> |
| mana        | coco =ma       | kay        | shu -ma       | kay        |
| NEG         | coconut =ma    | P.DEM      | one -DAT      | P.DEM      |

*ñukaj*                      *coco*              *maka...*  
 ñuka -k                      coco        =**mi**/**=ma**    a        -ka  
 1SG -BEN                      coconut =**mi**/**=ma**    COP-PST  
 ‘[It was] not [a] coconut, here in the other one [video], this one in mine was [a] coconut...’

el\_24092014\_03 07

In the periphrastic predicative constructions such as (3.18) the enclitic ‘floats’ around the clause, and can occur on either the predicate or the AUX/COP without a change in meaning. As mentioned above, due to their possible ambiguity, such constructions were excluded from the count of the tokens of both =*mi* and =*ma* in this thesis.

There are 92 tokens in the corpus which can be glossed unambiguously as occurrence of =*mi*. Almost 50% of those occur on nominal and pronominal hosts. Like =*ga*, the enclitic =*mi* always attaches to heads of nominal and pronominal phrases, and occurs on constituents fulfilling different grammatical functions, including subjects (3.19), objects (3.20) and adjuncts (3.21):

(3.19) =*mi* on a subject

Kan... kan=**mi**              api-ka-ngui              kan...              kan!  
 2SG    2SG=**mi**              grab-PST-2              2SG              2SG  
 ‘You took [it, it was] you, you!’

el\_02122014\_05 021

(3.20) =*mi* on an object

Ñuka=*ga*              yanga,              galletas=*lla-ra*=**mi**              apa-sha              ri-ka-ni  
 1SG=*ga*              nothing              cookies<sup>32</sup>=*lla-ACC*=**mi**              bring-COR              go-PST-1  
 ‘Me, [I went] just like that, [I] went to take just the cookies.’

el\_02122014\_05 023

(3.21) =*mi* on an adjunct

Kay-bi              ñuka              ñankarta              rima-w-shka              wagra,              chusku,  
 P.DEM -LOC    1SG              just              say -PROG-ANT              cow              four

<sup>32</sup> *Galletas* is borrowed from Spanish in the plural form, from *galleta* ‘cookie’, hence the plural form of the English gloss.

‘Here, the cow(s) about which I were just talking, [there are] four, above, on the other hand, [there] stand three cows.’

The occurrences of *=mi* on non-core arguments, exemplified in (3.21), are relatively infrequent in the corpus. This might be associated with the fact that *=mi* occurs on focal constituents (see Section 4.5.1).

(3.22)

- a. [shu sumak warmi=**mi**] shamu-ka ñuka wasi-ma  
one beautiful woman=**mi** come-PST 1SG house-DAT  
'A beautiful woman came to my house.'
- b. \*[shu sumak=**mi** warmi] shamu-ka ñuka wasi-ma  
one beautiful=**mi** woman come-PST 1SG house-DAT
- c. [Ñuka warmi] sumak=**mi** a-n  
1SG woman beautiful=**mi** COP-3  
'My wife is beautiful.'

In modifying clauses, =*mi* can also only occur on the head noun:

(3.23)

- |    |                           |                   |
|----|---------------------------|-------------------|
| a. | shaya-j                   | warmi = <b>mi</b> |
|    | stand-AG.NMLZ             | woman= <b>mi</b>  |
|    | ‘[the] standing woman’    |                   |
| b. | *shayaj <b>mi</b>         | warmi             |
|    | shaya-k = <b>mi</b>       | warmi             |
|    | stand-AG.NMLZ = <b>mi</b> | woman             |

156

The contrast between, (3.23a), which is grammatical, and (3.23b), which is not, confirms the observation that *=mi*, like *=ga*, cannot occur on nominal modifiers, and is restricted to heads of NPs and ProPs (see (3.19)).

Another 38% of the tokens of *=mi* in the sample occurred on verbal and predicate hosts. Unlike *=ga*, *=mi* often occurs on finite verbs, and shows few restrictions with TAM morphology (see Section 2.4.2). The examples below show that *=mi* is compatible with present/progressive, past and future tense- and aspect-marking on its verbal host:

(3.24) with PROG *-w* and PRS tense (zero-marked)

|          |         |                           |                  |
|----------|---------|---------------------------|------------------|
| ñukanchi | ña      | shamu-w                   | -nchi= <b>mi</b> |
| 1PL      | already | come -PROG-1PL= <b>mi</b> |                  |

‘We are coming already.’

el\_02102013 082

(3.25) with PST *-ka*

|        |                     |             |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|
| papa   | illa-ka             | = <b>mi</b> |
| potato | lack-PST= <b>mi</b> |             |

‘There were no potatoes.’

el\_12092013 123

(3.26) with FUT *-nga*

|            |                         |               |                        |             |              |
|------------|-------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| pay-guna=s | yacha-nu-nga            | = <b>mi</b> , | usha-nu-nga            | = <b>mi</b> | tarba-na-ra  |
| 3SG-PL=ADD | know-3PL-FUT= <b>mi</b> |               | can-3PL-FUT= <b>mi</b> |             | work-INF-ACC |

‘They too will know, they will be able to work.’

in\_03072013\_02 66

(3.27) with ANT *-shka*

|          |                      |       |
|----------|----------------------|-------|
| unay     | wañu-shka= <b>mi</b> | kay?  |
| long.ago | die-ANT = <b>mi</b>  | P.DEM |

‘Has (s)he died a long time ago?’

in\_25052013\_1\_02 184

As shown above, *=mi* occurs both in assertive and interrogative clauses, although it is ungrammatical for it to co-occur on the same host with any of the interrogative

enclitics discussed in this chapter. The enclitic *=mi* is also ungrammatical on imperative verbs. I discuss this property of *=mi* in more detail in Section 5.3.3.1.

The enclitic *=mi* was also found to occur on adverbial hosts (n=5). In:

(3.28)

uku-ma      tia-k              chundzulli-guna-ndi shamu-kpi,      yapa=**mi** ismu-n.  
inside-DAT   be-AG.NZML   intestines-PL-INCL   come-SWREF   much=**mi**   rot-3  
*[if I] bring [the dead animal] with the intestines, it will rot quickly [lit. a lot]*

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 446

In AdvPs, *=mi* is also restricted to the head of the phrase.

The final host-type attested in the sample were particles, including those functioning as discourse connectives:

(3.29)

*Ciertomi,*      *karan*              *wasi*   *paktasha,*      *makira*      *kusha*  
cierto=**mi**      karan              wasi   pakta-sha,      maki-ta      ku-sha  
sure =**mi**      every              house arrive-COR   hand -ACC   give-COR

*paktananchi*                      *ñukanchis.*  
pakta-na      a-nchi              ñukanchi=pas  
arrive -INF      AUX-1PL              1PL      =pas

‘Of course, arriving in every house, we too have to arrive shaking hands.’

el\_16082013\_01 105-6

With regard to the occurrence of *=mi* on discourse connectives, it should be said that it differs substantially from the occurrence of the topic-marking *=ga* on the same type of hosts. For instance, in the 13h corpus, not a single instance of *=mi* occurring on the causal particle *shinakpi* (‘then’/‘so’) was attested, while that same particle occurred 35 times in combination with *=ga*. This suggests that the two enclitics can be used to underline different types of discourse relations.

In terms of its interaction with lexical stress assignment (all types of hosts described above, including particles, have word stress), *=mi* exhibits ambiguous behaviour.

The preliminary examination of 40 tokens of the enclitic shows that it tends not to affect the lexical stress assignment of its hosts. The occurrence of *=mi* has only shifted the hosts stress pattern in one fifth (n=8) of the cases. No correlations were observed between the interaction of *=mi* with stress assignment and any particular participant or host type.

In the whole 13h corpus, *=mi* is attested to co-occur on the same host only with the additive enclitic *=pas*, the limitative *=lla* and the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*, all of which always precede *=mi*. Elicitation data show that it cannot be combined on the same host with any of the other enclitics discussed in this chapter. The data also show that *=mi* is not required for the grammaticality of sentences in which it occurs. It is, however, required for certain types of clauses to be felicitous, i.e. it occurs in threats, warnings, and in conditional clauses. The presence of *=mi* in these constructions, and the contribution it makes to the proposition expressed, are discussed in more detail in Section 5.3.3.

To sum up, the enclitic *=mi* exhibits low host selectivity, attaching to a variety of phrasal categories. It occurs freely with TAM morphology on verbal hosts. It optionally affects the stress pattern of its hosts. It can co-occur on the same hosts with few other enclitics, and when it does, it always attaches to their right. Its occurrence is restricted to phrasal heads. On NPs and PPs, it is not restricted to constituents fulfilling a particular grammatical role. It is not required for the grammaticality of clauses in which it occurs, but can be required for felicity of certain speech acts.

### 3.3.2.3 *=ma*

The analyses of the cognates of *=ma* vary across Quechuan dialects. In Imbabura Quechua (QII, Cole 1982), *=ma* is glossed as an emphatic version of *=mi*. In Sihuas Quechua (Hintz & Hintz 2014a) – as a ‘confirmation of mutual knowledge’. In Cuzco Quechua – as a marker of surprise (Faller 2002), or an impressive/emphatic enclitic (Cusihuamán 1976/2001). In TK, *=mi* and *=ma* appear to occur in free variation in many grammatical and discourse contexts (see example (3.18)), and they both exhibit a focus marking function (see Section 4.5.1).



The enclitic occurred 48 times in the elicited discourse corpus. The number of tokens in the naturalistic discourse corpus is difficult to assess, since the marker is homophonous with the Dative/Lative suffix *-ma*, and over 2200 words with word-final *-ma* were encountered in that part of the corpus. Nonetheless, the tokens encountered in the 2h corpus allow an insight into the morphosyntactic properties of the marker. The distribution of the tokens of *=ma* with different host-types is shown in Table 3.4.

**Table 3.4 Distribution of *=ma* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|--------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 12   | 5       | 25             | 4      | 2        | 48  |
| Percentage of tokens | 26.5 | 10.2    | 51             | 8.2    | 4.1      | 100 |

About 35% of the tokens of *=ma* in the analysed part of the corpus attach to nominal and pronominal hosts:

(3.30)

*Pay*                      *aylluwnama*                      *anawshka,*                      *yanapanga*  
 [pay                      ayllu -guna **=ma**]                      a                      -nu                      -shka                      yanapa -nga  
 3SG                      family -PL                      **=ma**                      COP -3SUBJ -ANT                      help -FUT

*ranawn*                      *kuna...*  
 ra -nun                      kuna  
 AUX -3PL                      now

‘They were his relatives, now they are going to help...’

el\_24092014\_03 54

(3.31)

*Paynama*                      *churanushka*                      *chi*                      *rumira!*  
 [payguna **=ma** ]                      chura -nushka                      chi                      rumi-ta  
 3PL                      **=ma**                      put -3PL.ANT                      D.DEM                      stone -ACC

‘They have put the stone [there]!’

el\_25092014\_03 44

In (3.30) *=ma* occurs on the head of an NP, and in (3.31) – on the head of a ProP. The marker cannot grammatically occur on attributive adjectives, or on other NP modifiers. This shows that it is restricted to phrasal heads. According to the data, *=ma* is not restricted to NPs or ProPs with a particular grammatical function. The above shows that the distribution of *=ma* is analogous to that of *=ga* and *=mi*.

More than 50% (n=25) of the tokens of *=ma* occurred on verbal hosts, and the majority of those (n=18), on finite verbs. In this respect, the distribution of *=ma* differs substantially from that of *=mi*, which, in the analysed part of the corpus, occurred mostly on nominalised and subordinate verb forms. On the whole, however, both *=mi* and *=ma* can co-occur with every TK tense and aspect marker:

(3.32) with the zero-marked present

mana            riku-ni=**ma**...  
NEG            see -1 **=ma**  
‘[I] don’t see [a thing].’

el\_03102014\_01 001

(3.33) with the past *-ka*

ña      chi-bi,            randi    apa-j-ka                            ri-ka=**ma**            ña.  
well    D.DEM -LOC    rather    bring -AG.NMLZ =ga    go -PST=**ma**    well  
‘Now here, on the other hand, he took [the baskets] and went, then.’

el\_25092014\_02 90

(3.34) with the anterior *-shka*

mana            riku-w-shka=**ma**                            pay=ga...  
NEG            see -PROG-ANT **=ma**                            3SG =ga  
‘As for him, [he/the farmer] hasn’t been looking...’

el\_24092014\_03 38

(3.35) with the future *-nga*

uya-nga=**ma**            ra-w-n                            chi-manda...  
hear-FUT=**ma**            AUX-PROG-3                            D.DEM-ABL  
‘[She] will listen from there.’

in\_20092013\_03 224

(3.36) with the progressive -w

|       |       |            |                |
|-------|-------|------------|----------------|
| Mana, | mana, | washa-y    | a-j=ka         |
| NEG   | NEG   | after -LOC | be-AG.NMLZ =ga |

mana, mana maska-w=**ma**  
 NEG NEG search -PROG=**ma**

‘No, no, the one who was behind didn’t, [he] wasn’t searching...’

el\_16082013\_02 063

For (3.32), the consultant suggested that the utterance would also be appropriate with =*mi*. More examples of the contexts where those two markers occur in free variation are discussed in Section 5.3.3. Example (3.35), where =*ma* occurs on the same host with the future marker -*nga* is one of the only three examples in the 13h corpus where -*nga* and =*ma* co-occur on the same host, encoding future reference. In studies of other varieties of Quechua, it was suggested that what differentiates the direct/assertive marker =*mi* from the ‘direct experience’ marker =*ma* is the ability of =*mi* to occur in clauses with future time reference. Example (3.35) shows that this is not the case for TK, although the scarcity of =*ma* in clauses with future time reference might indicate that diachronic change might have occurred in this respect. However, this hypothesis would require a diachronic study well outside the scope of the present work. The enclitic =*ma* also occurs on subordinate and nominalised verbs, as shown in (3.37) and (3.38), respectively:

(3.37)

|                    |              |                 |                       |                      |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Kariwnallas</i> | <i>pacha</i> | <i>apayawna</i> | <i>mikushama</i>      | <i>pasarianun...</i> |
| kari-guna =lla =s  | pacha        | apaya-guna      | miku -sha = <b>ma</b> | pasa -ria -nun       |
| man-PL =lla =pas   | EXCL         | man -PL         | eat -COR= <b>ma</b>   | pass -CONT -3PL      |

‘[The] young men, gosh, [the] guys pass by, eating...’

el\_25092014\_03 69

(3.38)

|         |      |                              |             |
|---------|------|------------------------------|-------------|
| pay=ga  | mana | ripara-j= <b>ma</b>          | shaya-n.... |
| 3SG =ga | NEG  | realise -AG.NMLZ = <b>ma</b> | stand -3    |

‘As for him, [he/the farmer] stands [there] without realising.’

el\_25092014\_03 32

Although *=ma* occurs without restriction with TAM markers in the indicative mood, it is, like *=mi*, incompatible with imperative clauses.

Apart from on nominal and verbal hosts, several (n=2) occurrences of *=ma* were also attested on adverbial hosts. Consider:

(3.39)

|                |                     |                     |                   |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Paynaga</i> | <i>karurama</i>     | <i>ririanawshka</i> | <i>chiguna...</i> |
| payguna=ga     | karu-ta <b>=ma</b>  | ri -ria -nushka     | chi -guna         |
| 3PL =ga        | far -ACC= <b>ma</b> | go -CONT-3PL.ANT    | D.DEM -PL         |

‘As for them, these ones have been going far..’

el\_24092014\_03 62

Occurrence on adverbial hosts is another distributional parallel between *=ma*, and the markers *=mi* and *=ga*. Similarly to those enclitic, *=ma* was also attested on particles, such as *ari* (‘yes’) or *shinarasha* (‘therefore’). As for co-occurrence with other markers described in this chapter, in the 13h corpus, *=ma* was attested to co-occur with the limitative *=lla* and the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*, and one occurrences was found with the additive marker *=pas*. In all of these cases, *=ma* attached to the right of the other enclitics.

On the basis of the auditory and pitch contour analysis of 48 tokens of *=ma*, it was established that it optionally affects lexical stress assignment. The lexical stress of the host was affected by the occurrence of *=ma* in 11 out of 48 cases.

In sum, *=ma* patterns similarly to the two markers described in the previous sections. It attaches to hosts from most all the major phrasal categories, always occurring on the phrasal heads. Although less frequent in discourse, semantically and distributionally, it seems to be similar to *=mi*; it also resembles that marker in its co-occurrence restrictions with imperative verb forms. It optionally participates in lexical stress assignment, and co-occurs on the same host with the same enclitics with which *=mi* also co-occurs.

#### 3.3.2.4 *=mari*

In previous studies of Quechuan languages, *=mari* has been analysed as an ‘emphatic equivalent’ of *=mi* (cf. Cole 1982; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002). None of

these studies, however, define the notion of ‘emphasis’ or specify the discourse context in which the emphatic markers are felicitous. The analysis of *=mari* as an emphatic version of *=mi* requires further discussion, which I provide in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The TK data does suggest that the meaning of *=mari* is to some extent related to that of *=mi* and *=ma*, since there are distributional and functional parallels between the three markers.

The marker occurred only 13 times in the elicited discourse part of the corpus, but in the 11h corpus of naturalistic discourse, over 300 tokens of *=mari* were attested (n=306). While the ensuing description of the marker’s properties was based on tokens from both parts of the corpus, Table 3.5 only takes the tokens from the ‘elicited discourse’ corpus into account:

**Table 3.5 Distribution of *=mari* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Adjective | Verb | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|-----------|------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 2    | 1       | 1         | 9    | 13  |
| Percentage of tokens | 15.5 | 7.5     | 7.5       | 69.5 | 100 |

As shown in Table 3.5, despite the small sample size the tokens of *=mari* were attested on hosts from different word-classes. In the bigger part of the corpus, *=mari* was also attested on adverbial hosts and on particles, including discourse connectives.

Like all the enclitics described above, *=mari* only occurs on the heads of NPs and PPs. By the same token, *=mari* was attested on predicative, but not attributive adjectives:

(3.40)

|                   |            |              |                   |              |                    |
|-------------------|------------|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| <i>Rukumari</i>   | <i>ani</i> | <i>ñuka,</i> | <i>mana wawa,</i> | <i>kawna</i> | <i>burlana....</i> |
| ruku= <b>mari</b> | a-ni       | ñuka         | mana wawa         | kanguna      | burla-na           |
| old = <b>mari</b> | COP-1      | 1SG          | NEG child         | 2PL          | mock-INF           |

‘I am old, I am not [a] child, [for] you to mock...’

ev\_29082013\_01c 042

The enclitic occurs on finite (3.41), non-finite (3.42) and nominalised (3.43) verbs:

(3.41)

shuwa-na wawa shamu-w, pay=ga mana ripara-n=**mari**...

steal-INF child come-PROG 3SG =ga NEG realise-3=**mari**

‘the child who will steal is coming, [and] he [the farmer] doesn't realise...’

el\_25092014\_03 022-23

(3.42)

shuwa-sha=**mari** apa-nga ra-w-n...

steal -COR=**mari** bring -FUT AUX -PROG -3

‘[he] is going to take [it], stealing...’

el\_24092014\_03 39

(3.43)

ñuka=ga yaku buti-ra api-j, chi-ma

1SG=ga water bottle -ACC grab -AG.NMLZ D.DEM -DAT

chura-j=**mari**, galletas-ta apa-j, miku-sha=lla

put -AG.NMLZ =**mari** galletas -ACC bring-AG.NMLZ comer-COR =lla

ri-ni pajlla-ra.

go -1 in.hiding-ACC

‘As for me, [I] took the water bottle, put it there, took the cookies, I went to just eat by myself....’

el\_02122014\_05 007

In the 13h of corpus data, =*mari* co-occurred with all tense and aspect markers, although only one token co-occurred with the FUT -*nga* (with FUT time reference). Like =*mi* and =*ma*, =*mari* cannot occur on imperative verbs. Also like the enclitics described above, =*mari* was attested on adverbial hosts:

(3.44)

Shina a-j=**mari**, kuna=**mari**, illa-n.

like.this be-AG.NMLZ=**mari** now =**mari** lack-3

‘It was like this, [and] now, there isn't any [fish left in the river].’

in\_25052013\_02\_03 089

The discussion and examples above show that the distributional properties of *=mari* are similar to those of the markers described in the previous sections.

In terms of occurrences with other TK word-final markers, *=mari* can co-occur on the same hosts with the additive *=pas* and the limitative *=lla*, as well as with the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*. In these clusters, *=mari* always occurs to the right of the other enclitics. The co-occurrence of *=mari* with other markers was not attested in the corpus, and it’s been established in elicitation that it cannot co-occur on the same host with *=ga*, *=mi*, *=ma*, *=chu*, *=cha* or *=chari*. The marker *=mari* is not required for the syntactic well-formedness of the clauses in which it occurs, but, like *=mi* and *=ma*, seems to be required for the felicity of certain types of utterances.

The preliminary auditory and pitch contour analysis carried out on the examples from the sample suggest that *=mari* optionally participates in stress assignment. In most cases (n=10), it did not alter the lexical stress falling on the penultimate syllable of its host. However, in the remaining three cases, its presence did alter the stress assignment. Incidentally, the examples where stress was altered all come from the same speaker (nian1). To corroborate these results, 30 tokens of the marker extracted from the naturalistic discourse corpus were examined, uttered by four different speakers. In this case, *=mari* affected the stress assignment of its host in almost one third of the cases (n=9). Therefore, the data examined here allows a preliminary conclusion that *=mari* optionally participates in lexical stress assignment.

In sum, the properties of *=mari* are similar to those of the previous markers described in this chapter. The marker occurs on all the major phrasal categories, attaching to the head/right edge of the phrase. It occurs both on non-finite and on finite verbal hosts. It can co-occur on the same hosts with the same enclitics which also combine with *=mi* and *=ma*. When it does co-occur with other word-final markers, it always attaches to their right. It optionally affects the stress pattern of its host. It is not required for the grammaticality of clauses in which it occurs.

### 3.3.2.5 *=tá*

The marker *=tá* was, to my knowledge, not described for any other variety of Quechua. In TK, it is associated with verum focus, and can be preliminarily defined here as a marker emphasising the expression of truth value of a proposition. I provide

a discussion of this notion, as well as of the information structural contribution of =*tá* to the clause, in Section 4.5.2, focusing here on its morphosyntactic properties.

Only four examples of =*tá* were attested in the elicited discourse context, and the naturalistic discourse corpus contained further thirteen examples. The marker =*tá*, similarly to the accusative marker -*ta*, has three allomorphs: the underlying [tá], [dá] after nasals and [rá] – post-vocalically. As suggested by the orthography, =*tá* carries inherent stress.

The distribution of the enclitic with the hosts from different phrasal categories is shown in Table 3.6. The table contains occurrences from both parts of the corpus, with the numbers from the elicited discourse corpus given in brackets.

**Table 3.6 Distribution of =*tá* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Adjective | (De)verbal Predicate | Particle | All   |
|----------------------|------|---------|-----------|----------------------|----------|-------|
| Number of tokens     | 2    | 1       | 1         | 9(3)                 | 4(1)     | 17(4) |
| Percentage of tokens | 11.8 | 5.9     | 5.9       | 52.9                 | 23.5     | 100   |

The categories in Table 3.6 differ slightly from those in other tables in this chapter. While in all the other tables, predicative constructions are included in the category ‘verb/predicate’ (see Section 3.3.2.1), in this case ‘(de)verbal predicate’ includes complex verbal predicate, and predicative constructions with nominalised verbs, but all the other types of hosts are counted separately. The reason behind this change is that, irrespective of the grammatical category of the host, all the occurrences of =*tá* are in predicative constructions; such distribution is typical of verum focus marking (see Section 4.5.2).

Most of the tokens of =*tá* in the corpus occur in answers to questions, which is in line with its verum focus interpretation. An example of =*tá* in a question-answer pair is given below:



(3.45)

A: Chi            manga    ima    tunu            riku-ri-j=ta  
      D.DEM        pot        what   manner        see-ANTIC-AG.NMLZ=ta

chi=ga,            ima=ra=y        chi=ga,        allpa    manga=lla        ?  
      D.DEM=ga        what=ta=y        D.DEM=ga    soil    pot    =lla

‘This pot, how does this one look like, how is it, [is it] a clay pot?’

B:    allpa    manga=lla=**rá**,        inay  
      soil        pot        =lla=**tá**        yes

‘It is a clay pot, yes.’

in\_26052013\_02 113-114

In (3.45), =*tá* occurs in the affirmative answer, attaching to the head of the NP queried in the question. The NP is used predicatively, and the copula (*a-*, ‘to be’) is elided. The examples below shows a similar construction, with =*tá* attaching to a predicative numeral, as in (3.46), and a predicative adjective, as in (3.47):

(3.46)

A:    Ishki    Venecia        tia-n?  
      two        NAME        be-3  
      ‘Are there two [villages called] Venecia?’

B:    Ishki=**rá**  
      two=**tá**  
      ‘[Yes], there ARE two.’

in\_25052013\_01 248-249

(3.47)

A:    Ayaj=cha                    panga?  
      bitter=cha                    leaf  
      ‘Is the leaf bitter?’

B:    Ayaj=**tá**  
      bitter=**tá**  
      ‘(Yes), it IS bitter.’

in\_05092014\_01 033-035

In non-verbal predicates such as those shown above, the copula tends to be elided.

On verbal hosts, =*tá* also occurs in affirmative answers or comments. The example below comes from a conversation in which two consultants were comparing the videos they watched, only differing in minor details:

(3.48)

- A: Chi      tia-ka=chu      kam-ba-j-pi ?      Telefono timbra-shka-wa...  
          D.DEM be-PST =chu 2SG-GEN-BEN-LOC      phone      sound-ANT-INSTR  
          ‘Was that in yours? As [the] phone was ringing...’
- B: Shinay,      timbra-n=**dá**      chi-bi.  
          yes      ring -3=**tá**      D.DEM -LOC  
          ‘That's right, it was ringing there.’

el\_05122014\_01 017-8

All four tokens of =*tá* on particles were attested on the adverbial demonstrative *shina* (‘like.this’/‘in.this.way’). Note that in B above *shinay*, clearly derived from *shina*, but which cannot be analysed as *shina*=*y* (see Section 3.3.2.10), functions as an assertive particle. The same function can be fulfilled by the more morphologically transparent co-occurrence of the adverbial with =*tá*:

(3.49)

- A: Ñakas      pitun      ni-shka-kwinta=lla      riku-ri-j  
          almost type.of.plant      say-ANT-SEMBL=lla      see -ANTIC-AG.NMLZ  
  
          yura      riku-ri-j      a-shka ?  
          tree      see -ANTIC-AG.NMLZ      COP-ANT  
          ‘Has it been a tree which looks almost like the ‘pitón’ tree?’
- B: shina=**rá**  
          like.this=**tá**  
          ‘That’s it.’

in\_05092014\_01 028-029

The examples above show that, despite there only being 17 tokens of =*tá* in the corpus, they are distributed across hosts from all the main TK grammatical categories, and consistently occur in affirmative answers to polar questions. In terms of co-occurrence with other word-final markers, =*tá* was only attested to attach to the right of =*lla*, and to the left of =*guti*. However, its co-occurrence restrictions with other markers were not tested in elicitation. While the marker is not grammatically obligatory in any of the contexts where it occurs, it seems to affect the illocutionary strength of the utterance by emphasising its truth value (see Section 4.5.2).

As mentioned above, =*tá* exhibits inherent stress, and therefore it always alters its hosts' stress assignment pattern, which by default falls on the penultimate syllable (see Section 2.1.2.2). Consider:

(3.50)

- a.    mi.ku'na            tian'dzu            ?  
       miku-na            tia-n=chu  
       eat-INF            exist-3=chu  
       ‘Is there [any] food?’
- b.    ari,                mi.ku'na            'tian  
       ari                miku-na            tia-n  
       yes                eat-INF            exist  
       ‘Yes, there is food.’
- c.    tian'da  
       tia-n =**dá**  
       exist-3=**tá**  
       ‘There is [food].’
- d.    \*'tian.da  
       tia-n=dá  
       exist-3=tá

attested

elicited

In (3.50) above, (a) is a question, and (b), (c) and (d) are possible or intended answers. Comparing (b) to (c), we see that the occurrence of the marker =*tá* changes the stress pattern of the host. Example (d) shows that when =*tá* attaches to the host, stressing the penultimate syllable renders an ungrammatical result. It should also be mentioned that =*tá* has a falling pitch contour, while the interrogative =*ta* (see Section 3.3.2.9) exhibits a rising contour, and the ACC -*ta* – a flat contour.

An issue which requires further study is the relationship between the stress shift mentioned briefly in Section 3.3.1 and the marker =*tá*. As mentioned previously, the shifting of the lexical stress to the last syllable was analysed as an enclitic in previous descriptions of Quechua (cf. e.g. Parker 1969), and described as having an assertive function. While a detailed prosodic analysis of the TK data falls outside the scope of this study, the data suggest that the stress shift alone can serve a similar function, and has a similar distribution, to the instances of =*tá* discussed above. Consider:

(3.51)

- A:   ma'ma.ra       ?  
       mama-ta  
       mother-ACC  
       ‘[They did it] to [their] mother?’
- B:   ma.ma'ra       ru.ku.ma'ma.ra  
       mama -ta       rukumama-ta  
       mother-ACC    grandmother-ACC  
       ‘[Yes] To the mother. To the grandmother.’

ta\_07062013\_01 347-48

It is clear from the discourse context that ‘mother’ occurs in the accusative, and, in answer to A’s question, B shifts the stress on the first part of the answer to the last syllable of the lexical word, but the marker =*tá* does not occur. I discuss the relationship between =*tá* and the lexical stress shift in more detail in Section 4.5.2.

To sum up, the marker =*tá* exhibits promiscuous attachment and has inherent stress. In the corpus, it was only attested co-occurring on the same host with enclitics =*lla* and =*guti*. The enclitic =*tá* is not required for the grammaticality of the utterances in

which it occurs, but where it does occur, it seems to emphasise the truth value of the utterance.

### 3.3.2.6 =chu

Across the different varieties of Quechua, the marker =chu has been analysed as a negation and polar question marker (cf. Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Cole 1982; Weber 1989b; Faller 2002). It has the same function in TK. When occurring together with the negative particle *mana*, it delimits the scope of negation, and when occurring alone, it marks the focus of polar questions, as well as indicating doubt. It has two allomorphs: [dʒu] after nasals and [tʃu] in all other contexts. The distribution of the enclitic with different types of hosts is shown in Table 3.7:

**Table 3.7 Distribution of =chu with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|----------------|--------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 15   | 23             | 3      | 2        | 43  |
| Percentage of tokens | 35   | 53.5           | 7      | 4.5      | 100 |

As shown in Table 3.7, over half of the tokens of =chu in the elicited discourse corpus occurred on verbal hosts, and a further 35% – on nominal hosts. Only two tokens of =chu were attested on pronominal hosts in the 13h corpus, and few occurrences were found on adjectival hosts, only when these had a predicative function. This seems to indicate that, like other enclitics described so far, =chu only occurs on heads of nominal phrases.

Note that =chu can also attach to both the predicate and the copula/auxiliary in non-verbal and complex verbal predicates. Similarly to =mi/=ma (see Section 3.3.2.2), in such cases it can sometimes occur in the reduced form =ch, when the COP/AUX occurs as an enclitic on the predicate, to the right of the discourse enclitic. In such cases, the marker is ambiguous between =chu and =cha (see Section 3.3.2.7):

(3.52)

*Chiga mana paywaj chaka...*  
 chi =ga mana pay -pa -k =**chu** / =**cha** a -ka  
 D.DEM =ga NEG 3SG -GEN-BEN=**chu** / =**cha** COP -PST

*chi ushushimi churariawka...*  
 chi ushushi =mi chura -ria -w -ka  
 D.DEM daughter =mi put -CONT -PROG -PST  
 ‘it wasn't his [hat]..... the little girl was wearing it...’

el\_24092014\_03 65

Similarly to the tokens ambiguous between =*mi* and =*ma*, markers ambiguous between =*chu* and =*cha* were excluded from the count of tokens and from the analysis presented here.

Both on verbal and nominal hosts, =*chu* most often indicates the polar interrogative meaning. Consider:

(3.53) polar interrogative =*chu* on a verbal host

Riku-ngui=**chu** Jacobo? Pi=ta=y ?  
 see -2 =**chu** NAME who=ta=y  
 ‘Do you see, Jacobo? Who is that?’

el\_16082013\_01 016

(3.54) polar interrogative =*chu* on a nominal host

ima... karich**u**, warmi-pura=**chu** chibi  
 what man =**chu** woman-among =**chu** D.DEM -LOC

wakta-nu-ria-nun?

hit -3PL.SUBJ-CONT -3PL

‘What...[are they] men, or are they hitting [hands] there amongst women?’

el\_16082013\_01 017

However, not all =*chu*-marked utterances are meant to elicit an answer from the addressee. The enclitic often expresses doubt or lack of knowledge. Again, this is the case for its occurrences on both verbal and nominal hosts:

(3.55) dubitative =*chu* on a nominal host

ushi=**chu**      /=cha      shamu-w-n...  
 daughter =**chu** /=cha      come -PROG -3  
 ‘It seems it’s the daughter coming...’

el\_24092014\_03 47

(3.56) dubitative =*chu* on a verbal and nominal host

shina              ansa      awa-w=**dzu**,                      usa-ra=**chu**  
 like.this          little      weave-PROG=**chu**                      louse -ACC =**chu**  
  
 maska-w          ima=chari,      mana      yacha-ni      alli-ra              ni-kpi  
 seek -PROG      what =chari      NEG      know -1      good -ACC      say-SWREF  
 ‘Like this a little bit, is [she] making a braid, or searching for lice, or what, to be true,  
 I don’t know...’

el\_16082013\_02 044

The utterances expressing doubt, as illustrated by (3.55), can be marked with either =*chu* or the dubitative enclitic =*cha* (see Section 3.3.2.7). Moreover, as shown in (3.56), in cases where =*chu*-marked utterances do not have an interrogative illocutionary force, the enclitic often co-occurs with the particles *imacha* or *imachari* (what=*cha*/=*chari*) (see Sections 3.3.2.7 and 3.3.2.8, respectively). Note that =*chu* can be used dubitatively, independently of the speaker’s source of information (see Section 5.3.4).

In one case in the elicited discourse corpus, =*chu* occurred on a nominal host to mark negation:

(3.57)

pera      ni-shka=m...              pera=**chu**...              palta              ni-shka-ra  
 pear      say -ANT=mi              pear =**chu**              avocado              say -ANT -ACC  
  
 piti-w-n                      awa-y              sika-sha...  
 cut -PROG -3              high -LOC              go.up-COR  
 ‘[the fruit] called pear...it’s not a pear! [the fruit] called avocado, he is cutting [it]  
 going up’

el\_21092014\_02 04

The example above is a case of self-correction, uttered when describing the Pear Story (Chafe 1980). Note that it is very rare in TK to express negation only with the enclitic *=chu*, without the negative particle *mana*. The reverse – *mana* occurring without *=chu* – is frequent. It could therefore be concluded that in (3.57) the negative particle has been elided, since *=chu* alone does not carry a negative meaning.

Of the occurrences of *=chu* on verbal hosts, 22% (n=5) occurred in negative clauses. The remaining tokens occurred in interrogative constructions or affirmative clauses expressing doubt. Consider the example below, where *=chu* is used to delimit the scope of negation:

(3.58)

Randi kay churi=*ga* mana... mana apa-shka=**chu**.  
 rather P.DEM son =*ga* NEG NEG take -ANT=**chu**  
 ‘The boy, on the other hand, [he] didn’t....didn’t take [the watch].’

el\_05122014\_02 011

In the naturalistic discourse corpus, where *=chu* occurs in the negative construction with the particle *mana* (n = 90), the enclitic occurs almost exclusively on verbal hosts. It was attested to co-occur with present, past and future tense marking. The enclitic’s co-occurrence with the FUT marker *-nga* requires further investigation, given that the constructions involving *-nga* and *=chu* seem to signal conditional or potentiality, rather than future time reference.

Only three cases of the co-occurrence of *=chu* and *mana* in the same clause were attested in the 11h corpus, where *=chu* did not attach to a verb. One was an occurrence of the enclitic in the expression *mana ima=s=chu* (lit. ‘it’s nothing’, meaning ‘you’re welcome’/‘don’t mention it’), and two were occurrences on an adverbial host, as in (3.59) below:

(3.59)

‘mana yapa=**chu** liba-sha iña-ngui’ ni-sha, ñuka-ra  
 NEG much=**chu** be.punished-COR grow-2 say-COR 1SG-ACC



|              |         |         |                   |        |
|--------------|---------|---------|-------------------|--------|
| piña-j       | a-ka    | ñuka-ra | iña-chi-j         | mama   |
| talk-AG.NMLZ | COP-PST | 1SG-ACC | grow-CAUS-AG.NMZL | mother |

‘‘‘You’ve grown up not being punished much’’, my mother who raised me used to tell me off.’

in\_01082013\_05 295

The enclitic =*chu* also occurs in prohibitive constructions, where it co-occurs with the prohibitive particle *ama*. In the 11h of the naturalistic discourse corpus, 32 examples were found of the *ama* + =*chu* construction. In all these cases, =*chu* occurred on a verbal host:

(3.60) = (2.99)

|        |      |                          |
|--------|------|--------------------------|
| Shami, | ama  | mandza-y= <b>chu</b> !   |
| come   | PROH | fear-2SG.IMP= <b>chu</b> |

‘Come, don’t be afraid!’

in\_20092013\_03 298

In the elicited discourse corpus, =*chu* was also attested on adverbs (n=3) and particles (n=2). The adverbial occurrences of the enclitic were in dubitative and interrogative contexts, but (3.59) above shows that =*chu* also occurs on adverbials in negative clauses. On particles, both tokens of the enclitic occurred on the negative *mana*. It seems that in TK the collocation *mandzu* (mana=*chu*) functions as a discourse marker with a function similar to that of the English ‘you know’ or ‘isn’t it’, depending on the context:

(3.61)

|                 |                    |                 |                     |             |                  |                |
|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| <i>Chi,</i>     | <i>ñuka</i>        | <i>ñankarta</i> | <i>rimawni</i>      |             | <i>mandzu,</i>   | <i>imasna</i>  |
| chi             | ñuka               | ñankarta        | rima-w              | -ni         | mana= <b>chu</b> | imasna         |
| D.DEM           | 1SG                | just            | say                 | -PROG-1     | NEG = <b>chu</b> | how            |
| <i>warmi...</i> | <i>warmikwinta</i> |                 | <i>tukushkaguna</i> |             | <i>ñuka</i>      | <i>rikukpi</i> |
| warmi           | warmi              | -kwinta         | tuku                | -shka -guna | ñuka             | riku -kpi      |
| woman           | woman              | -SEMBL          | become              | -ANT -PL    | 1SG              | see-SWREF      |

‘That one, as I was just saying, how...you know, [they] have become woman...womanlike [gay], as far as I can tell.’

el\_16082013\_01 176

The marker *=chu* can co-occur with the additive *=pas*, the limitative *=lla* and the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*, always attaching outside them. It can also co-occur with the emphatic marker *=y*, which, in turn, attaches outside *=chu*. In one case in the corpus, *=chu* co-occurred with both *=y* and *=guti*, with *=guti* attaching outside both other markers. It was shown by the corpus analysis and confirmed in elicitation that the enclitic *=chu* cannot co-occur on the same host with the enclitics *=ga*, *=mi*, *=ma* or *=mari*, *=tá* or *=ta*. It also does not co-occur on the same host with *=cha* or *=chari*, but in certain discourse contexts these three markers occur in free variation. The enclitic was not attested to co-occur on the same host with *=ri*, but the co-occurrence restrictions of the two markers were not investigated in elicitation.

On the basis of the preliminary auditory and pitch contour analysis of 40 tokens of *=chu* encountered in the elicited discourse corpus, I concluded that the enclitic optionally partakes in lexical stress assignment. It altered the lexical stress assignment in ca. 33% of the cases (n=14).

To sum up, the TK *=chu* is a polar interrogative and negation marker. In negative clauses, it co-occurs with the negative particle *mana* and the prohibitive *ama*, which carry the negative meaning, while *=chu* is used to delimit the scope of negation. The enclitic occurs with all types of hosts in the interrogative contexts, and shows strong preference for verbal hosts in negative constructions. It is compatible with verbs in the indicative as well as imperative mood. It marks the focus of polar questions, and is incompatible on the same host with other focus-marking enclitics. It optionally affects the lexical stress assignment of its hosts.

### 3.3.2.7 *=cha*

In current analyses of Quechuan languages, the cognates of the TK *=cha* have most often been analysed as validational (e.g. Adelaar 1977; Cole 1982), conjectural/inferential evidential (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997), or both indirect evidential and a weak epistemic modal (e.g. Faller 2002). The TK *=cha* does not seem to correlate with indirect evidence types, although preliminary analysis shows that it does occur in contexts where the speaker admits the *=cha*-marked proposition as a possibility. The epistemic/evidential meaning of the TK *=cha* is discussed in detail in Section 5.3.4. In TK, the marker has two allomorphs: [d̠ʒa] after nasals and [t̠ʃa] in all other contexts. It seems that from the previous analyses, the one which fits

most closely with the use of the TK *=cha* is in line with the analysis provided by Cusihuáman (1976/2001) for Cuzco Quechua (QII). He claimed that in CQ, *=cha* expresses doubt, uncertainty or conjecture when occurring on interrogative words, and epistemic possibility when occurring on non-interrogative words (Cusihuamán 1976/2001: 233-4). As shown in the examples below, this distinction does not seem to hold for TK.

There were 33 tokens of *=cha* in the 2h elicited discourse corpus. However, their distribution was heavily biased towards the occurrence of the marker on the interrogative pronoun *ima* ('what'). Therefore, the naturalistic discourse corpus was also examined, where further 141 tokens of the marker were attested. Table 3.8 shows the distribution of the tokens of *=cha* from the entire corpus, with the occurrences in the elicited discourse corpus given in brackets:

**Table 3.8 Distribution of *=cha* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun  | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All     |
|----------------------|-------|---------|----------------|--------|----------|---------|
| Number of tokens     | 27(3) | 91(26)  | 39(7)          | 15     | 2        | 174(33) |
| Percentage of tokens | 15.52 | 52.3    | 22.41          | 8.62   | 1.15     | 100     |

Table 3.8 shows that over 50% of the tokens of *=cha* in the corpus occurs on pronominal hosts. However, the majority of the pronominal hosts of *=cha* are interrogative pronouns. The enclitic occurs most often on the interrogative *ima* ('what'). The occurrences on that pronoun alone make for more than one third (n=60) of all the tokens of *=cha* in the corpus:

(3.62)

Ñuka            chi            ushi-wa            tupu=chu            shamu-k            a-ni  
1SG            D.DEM            daughter-DIM            size =chu            come-AG.NMLZ            COP-1

ima =**cha**,            shina            shamu-shka-ni.  
what=**cha**            like.this            come -ANT-1

'I think I came [being] the size of that little girl, being like that I think I came (the girl was standing nearby).'

in\_07062013\_01 133

(3.63)

*Shina chaka, imacha, kambajpi?*  
 shina =chu/=cha a -ka ima =**cha** kan -pa -k -pi  
 like.this =chu/=cha be-PST what =**cha** 2SG -GEN -BEN -LOC

‘I dunno, was it like this in yours?’

el\_05122014\_01 044

The collocation *ima=cha*, sometimes also affixed with the interrogative =y (see Section 3.3.2.10), occurs both in interrogative clauses, as in (3.63), and in affirmative clauses, where it indicates doubt on the part of the speaker, as in (3.62). In both cases, however, they collocation is not the only interrogative/dubitative element in the clause. This, together with the frequency of the collocation, suggests that *ima=cha(=y)* might be becoming lexicalised as an epistemic tag question, or an epistemic discourse marker. In Section 3.3.2.8 I discuss a collocation of *ima* with the enclitic =*chari*, which seems to serve a similar discourse function.

The data show that the meaning of =*cha* is similar to the interrogative meaning of =*chu*, discussed in Section 3.3.2.6. Similarly to =*chu*, =*cha*, independently of the type of its host, occurs in polar questions, and in affirmative clauses expressing doubt on the part of the speaker. Like =*chu*, =*cha* is felicitous in polar questions, but not in content questions.

(3.64)

Unay-ra yanu-na=**cha**?  
 long -ACC cook-INF=**cha**

‘Does one have to cook it for long?’

in\_25052013\_1\_01 055

(3.65)

*picha / =ta yachachika? Imaraygura shina?*  
 pi \*=**cha** / =ta yacha-chi-ka ima -raygu =ta shina....  
 who \*=**cha** / =ta learn-CAUS-PST what-CAUSAL=ta like.this

‘Who taught [ you that]? Why [do it] like this?’

in\_07072013\_01 237

Example (3.65) comes from an interview. While the participant in the recording uttered *pi=cha* (who=*cha*), the transcriber suggested that it was a slip of a tongue, since *=cha* is not felicitous in the context of a content question. Rather, he suggested that the participant should have used the content question marker *=ta* (see Section 3.3.2.9). The corpus data confirm that observation. The enclitic *=cha*, again like *=chu*, occurs on different types of hosts in interrogative contexts, depending on the focus of the polar question. The marker occurs on both finite and non-finite verbal hosts; Example (3.64) above shows the enclitic occurring on an infinitive verb.

Like the markers discussed in the previous sections, *=cha* occurs on the heads of nominal and pronominal phrases. The example below illustrates the occurrence of *=cha* on personal pronouns:

(3.66)

Pay **=cha**                      Karolina ?

3SG=**cha**                      NAME

‘So she is Karolina?’/ ‘She must be Karolina?’

in\_20092013\_03 347

In (3.66), *=cha* occurs on the prosodically marked interrogative. As discussed above, the enclitic is infelicitous in content questions. However, *=cha* can attach to interrogative pronouns used in content questions. In such cases, the *=cha*-marked clauses are not interpreted as having an interrogative illocutionary force, but rather as rhetorical questions:

(3.67)

may=*ta=cha*                      ri-n,                      karu      rin

where=*ta=cha*                      go-3                      far      go-3

‘where can he be going, he is going far..’

in\_07062013\_01 181

The above applies to occurrences of *=cha* not only on interrogative pronouns, but also on other types of hosts. Consider:

(3.68)

Ima shuti-ra=**cha**, Shangri=**cha** ni-j-kuna a-ka=y,  
what name-ACC=**cha** NAME=**cha** say-AG.NMLZ-PL COP-PST=y  
borla=chu Shangri ima=chari  
nickname=chu NAME what=chari  
'I don't know what his name was, I think he was called Shangri, was his nickname  
Shangri or what...'

in\_26052013\_02 132

(3.69)

Chi=ga ima lumu-ruku=**cha**=y chi....  
D.DEM=ga what manioc-AUG=**cha**=y D.DEM  
'That one, what kind of manioc is that (I don't know)...'

in\_01082013\_06 098

In both (3.68) and (3.69) =*cha* co-occurs in the same clause with a range of other markers, namely =*chu*, =*chari* and =*y*. Example (3.69) shows =*cha* and =*y* occurring on the same host. Both examples are of rhetorical questions, with the speaker 'thinking aloud' to mark uncertainty with regard to the =*cha*-marked content of the proposition expressed. The data shown above indicate that the TK =*cha* seems to be used to express uncertainty on the part of the speaker, and that it tends to occur on focal constituents of polar questions. Unlike =*chu*, =*cha* does not partake in negation (see Section 4.5.4).

As shown in the examples above, =*cha* can co-occur on the same host with the interrogative marker =*y*. It cannot occur on the same host as =*chu* or =*chari* (see Section 3.3.2.6) and in certain contexts seems to be in complementary distribution with those markers. While =*y* always attaches outside =*cha*, the marker can also co-occur with =*lla*, =*llara*, and =*pas* (one occurrence in the corpus) attaching to their right. The issues pertinent to the co-occurrence of =*cha* and =*ri* on the same host are discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2.15.

The preliminary auditory and pitch contour analysis of the tokens of =*cha* from both parts of the corpus suggests that the enclitic can, but does not have to, affect the

lexical stress assignment of its host. The lexical stress was affected by roughly one in four of the examined occurrences of *=cha*.

To sum up, the enclitic *=cha* functions as a dubitative and polar question marker, but, unlike the other polar question enclitic *=chu*, it does not partake in negative or imperative constructions. In certain discourse contexts, it occurs in complementary distribution with *=chu* and *=chari*. It co-occurs on the same host with several other TK enclitics: *=lla*, *=llara*, *=pas*, *=y* and *=ri*. It often co-occurs with the interrogative pronoun *ima* ('what'), in a collocation which seems to be on its way to lexicalisation as an epistemic discourse marker. The enclitic optionally affects the lexical stress assignment of its host.

### 3.3.2.8 *=chari*

In previous studies of Quechuan *=chari* was glossed as an emphatic version of the inferential evidential/dubitative marker *=cha* (cf. e.g. Floyd 1997; Faller 2002). However, as was also the case with the *=mi/=mari* pair, the aforementioned studies do not explain how the 'emphatic' meaning of the marker arises. According to the TK data, both *=cha* and *=chari* seem to indicate that the speaker admits the proposition marked with those enclitics as a possibility (see Section 4.5.4). The enclitic *=chari* was analysed as dubitative in a pedagogical grammar of Tena Kichwa (Mújica & Goldáraz 2010), which, to my knowledge, is the only Tena Kichwa primer written in the recent years. Nonetheless, the authors mention the enclitic very briefly, only giving one example.

There were only 16 tokens of *=chari* in the 'elicited discourse' part of the corpus. Of those, the majority (n=14) occurred on the interrogative pronoun *ima* ('what'), while the remaining two occurred on nouns. Further 74 occurrences were found in the naturalistic discourse corpus. The distribution of the tokens from both parts of the corpus is shown in Table 3.9, with the numbers of tokens from the 'elicited discourse' corpus shown in brackets.

**Table 3.9 Distribution of =chari with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun   | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | All    |
|----------------------|--------|---------|----------------|--------|--------|
| Number of tokens     | 22 (2) | 41(14)  | 25             | 2      | 90(16) |
| Percentage of tokens | 24.5   | 45.5    | 27.8           | 2.2    | 100    |

Almost half of the occurrences of =chari in both parts of the corpus occurred on pronouns. Furthermore, one third of the total number of tokens (n=30) occurred on the interrogative pronoun *ima* ('what'), in a collocation analogous to that of *ima* and =cha (see Section 3.3.2.7). Consider the following examples:

(3.70)

|          |              |                   |                     |
|----------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>paywa</i> | <i>kariwnachu</i> | <i>imachari</i>     |
| o        | pay -pa      | kari -guna =chu   | ima = <b>chari</b>  |
| or       | 3SG-GEN      | husband-PL =chu   | what = <b>chari</b> |

|                 |              |                       |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| <i>warmiwna</i> | <i>shina</i> | <i>ukllariyrisha?</i> |
| warmi -guna     | shina        | ukllari -y- ri -sha   |
| woman -PL       | like.this    | embrac -COV- go-COR   |

'or are they husbands, what would they be, to go hug [their] wives like this?'

el\_16082013\_01 153

(3.71)

|                    |              |                    |                     |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>kambajpi</i>    | <i>shina</i> | <i>chaka</i>       | <i>imachari?</i>    |
| kan -pa -k -pi     | shina        | =chu /=cha a -ka   | ima = <b>chari</b>  |
| 2.PRO -GEN-BEN-LOC | like.this    | =chu /=cha be -PST | what = <b>chari</b> |

'in yours it was like this, was it?'

el\_05122014\_01 020

In both (3.70) and (3.71), as well as in all the other occurrences of *imachari* in the corpus, the collocations are preceded by a constituent affixed with one of the TK question markers. Therefore, we can conclude that *imachari* functions as a 'tag question'. In none of the examples did the interrogative pronoun *ima* index a missing



argument of the interrogative clause. This, however, is not the case where =*chari* occurs on other interrogative pronouns:

(3.72)

|                |                    |               |              |              |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Panira</i>  | <i>mulistakpis</i> | <i>mamama</i> | <i>rimak</i> | <i>ashka</i> |
| panira         | mulista-kpi=pas    | mama-ma       | rima-k       | a-shka       |
| sister.of.male | disturb-SWREF=ADD  | mother-DAT    | say-AG.NMLZ  | AUX-ANT      |

|              |                   |              |                    |                  |               |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------|
| <i>mana,</i> | <i>pichari</i>    | <i>shina</i> | <i>mulishtasha</i> | <i>kawsawan,</i> | <i>nisha,</i> |
| mana,        | pi = <b>chari</b> | shina        | mulishta-sha       | kawsa-wa-n       | ni-sha        |
| NEG          | who= <b>chari</b> | like.this    | disturb-COR        | live-1OBJ-3      | say-COR       |

‘As [he] was disturbing his sister, [she] spoke to the mother, ‘no, who would live disturbing me like this?’, she said.’

ta\_07062013\_02 301

In (3.72), the interrogative pronoun marked with =*chari* stands for the missing argument of the interrogative clause, which differentiates this use of the enclitic from those shown in (3.70) and (3.71).

On verbal hosts, =*chari* occurs on nominalised, non-finite and finite verb forms. On nominal hosts, similarly to the other enclitics described so far, =*chari* was only attested on phrasal heads. On hosts other than pronouns, the marker occurs not only in interrogative clauses, but also in constructions describing potential or non-actualised events. Consider:

(3.73)

|                 |      |                    |            |          |
|-----------------|------|--------------------|------------|----------|
| Chi=llara-ma    | mana | yacha-chi-shka-ni, | tukuy-guna | ña       |
| D.DEM=llara-DAT | NEG  | know-CAUS-ANT-1    | all        | -PL well |

|                          |        |                        |                            |
|--------------------------|--------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| bachiller-guna=lla=mari, | tukuy, | ush <b>chari</b> ,     | churi-wna= <b>chari</b> .. |
| graduate-PL=lla =mari    | all    | daughter= <b>chari</b> | son -PL = <b>chari</b>     |

‘Just that one, I didn’t educate, all [my children] are graduates, all of them, be it daughters or sons.’

in\_13082014\_01 212

(3.74)

|            |                |                 |            |                  |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Shu</i> | <i>pundzay</i> | <i>kayguna,</i> | <i>kay</i> | <i>rimayguna</i> |
| shu        | pundza-pi      | kay-guna        | kay        | rima-y-guna      |
| one        | day-LOC        | P.DEM-PL        | P.DEM      | say-OBJ.NMLZ-PL  |

|                           |            |                 |                           |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>llukshingachari</i> ,  | <i>shu</i> | <i>warmiwna</i> | <i>rikunungachari.</i>    |
| llukshi-nga= <b>chari</b> | shu        | warmi-guna      | riku-nu-nga= <b>chari</b> |
| go.out-FUT= <b>chari</b>  | one        | woman-PL        | see-3-FUT = <b>chari</b>  |

‘one day, this, these words will come true, the other woman shall see...’

in\_03072013\_02 065

In (3.74) the ‘non-actualised’ interpretation arises by virtue of the presence of the future/irrealis marker *-nga* (see Section 2.4.2.2.4). However, this is not the case in (3.73), where only anterior marker *-shka* is present. This indicates that the presence of =*chari* might be related to the lack of existential closure (see Section 5.3.2). In the corpus, there are eight occurrences of =*chari* on verbal hosts with the FUT *-nga*, all of which render a ‘non-actualised’ reading:

(3.75)

|             |                          |          |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Cedula-ra   | chari-ngui= <b>chari</b> | kan=ga ? |
| ID.card-ACC | have-2= <b>chari</b>     | 2SG =ga  |

‘Do you have an ID?’

in\_25052013\_1\_01 327

(3.76)

|      |         |                         |   |
|------|---------|-------------------------|---|
| Ima, | kan =ga | rupa-ngui= <b>chari</b> | ? |
| what | 2SG=ga  | burn-2 = <b>chari</b>   |   |

‘What, have you burnt yourself?’

in\_20092013\_03 110

However, when attaching to verbs with present and time reference, =*chari* can occur in clauses denoting actualised events. In the corpus, =*chari* was not attested on verbal hosts with past tense marker *-ka*.

On the basis of the above examples, and taking into account that the 13h corpus only comprises 90 tokens of the marker, the meaning of *=chari* is still difficult to define. It seems that, rather than contributing to the truth-conditional content of a proposition, *=chari* indicates the speaker's epistemic evaluation of it. The semantics of *=chari* is discussed in more detail in Section 5.4.2).

The preliminary auditory and pitch contour examination of 56 tokens of *=chari* suggests that the enclitic's participation in lexical stress assignment is optional. The occurrence of *=chari* did not affect lexical stress in 37.5% of the cases (n=21). Interestingly, out of 22 examined occurrences of *=chari* on the interrogative pronoun *ima* ('what'), only one did not shift the lexical stress pattern of the host ('i.ma.cha.ri rather than i.ma'cha.ri), which strengthens the hypothesis that the collocation might be undergoing a process of grammaticalisation into a discourse particle.

To summarise, *=chari* is an enclitic which occurs on hosts from all major TK phrasal categories and shows few co-occurrence restrictions with verbal and nominal inflection markers. Like the other markers described so far, it occurs on phrasal heads. It has not been attested to co-occur on the same host with any of the discourse markers discussed in this chapter. It optionally participates in stress assignment.

### 3.3.2.9 *=ta*

The enclitic *=ta* is an interrogative marker occurring in content questions. It is a possible cognate of the contrastive marker *-taq* described e.g. for Cuzco Quechua (QII, cf. e.g. Cusihuamán 1976/2001: 240; Sánchez 2010: 35). In the elicited discourse corpus, 86% of the tokens of *=ta* occurred on interrogative pronouns. Consequently, tokens of *=ta* were also extracted from the 11h naturalistic discourse corpus. Since the naturalistic discourse corpus is not fully parsed and glossed, it was possible to mine it for *=ta* occurring in certain environments, but not to extract all of the tokens. The marker's allophones – the post-vocalic [ra], [da] occurring after nasals, and [ta] in all other environments – are homophonous to the allophones of the accusative *-ta*, and the corpus contained over 11,000 lexical items in which the final syllable was [ta], [ra] or [da].

Due to the above considerations, Table 3.10 shows the distribution of the tokens of *=ta* in the elicited discourse corpus:

**Table 3.10 Distribution of =ta with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 2    | 24      | 1              | 1        | 28  |
| Percentage of tokens | 7    | 86      | 3.5            | 3.5      | 100 |

As evident from Table 3.10, the distribution of =ta in the elicited discourse corpus is heavily biased towards its occurrence on pronouns. Moreover, all the pronominal hosts of =ta were interrogative pronouns. The marker occurred 11 times on the interrogative particle *ima*, in combination with various other markers, including case marking and the emphatic =y (see Section 3.3.2.10). Judging from distributional evidence, the collocation *ima=ta(=y)*, similarly to *ima=cha(=y)* and *ima=chari*, (see Sections 3.3.2.7 and 3.3.2.8, respectively), often functions as a discourse connective similar to the English ‘I dunno’/‘you know’, rather than as an interrogative pronoun:

(3.77)

Timbra-jpi=mari, ima=**ra**=y.....maska-n. Pay celular shina-kpi  
 sound-SWREF=mari what=**ta**=y look.for-3 3SG mobile.phone like.this-SWREF

mana mashti-kpi, kuti=llara warmira tanga-n  
 NEG whats.its.name -SWREF again=llara woman -ACC push -3

‘When [the phone] rings, what’s it, [he] looks, his phone doesn’t do...what’s it called [stop], so he pushes the woman again [touches her on the arm seeking attention].’

e1\_05122014\_01 040

In the example above, coming from a description of a video stimulus, the pronoun *ima*, marked with =ta, does not correspond to a missing argument of an interrogative clause, but rather seems to be an expressive or discourse-linking device. However, *ima* can also co-occur with =ta in content questions where it replaces the missing argument, often with appropriate case marking. In those cases, the occurrence of =ta on *ima* (‘what’) has a similar function to its occurrences on other interrogative pronouns:

(3.78)

Ima-ra=**ra**                      upi-n                      shina ?  
what-ACC=**ta**                      drink-3                      like.this  
'What are you drinking? (polite)'

in\_26052013\_02 004

(3.79)

Pi-ta=**ra**                      muna-nga=y,                      pay?  
who -ACC =**ta**                      love -FUT=y                      3SG  
'Who could/would she love, her?'

el\_15102014\_01 83

In both (3.78) and (3.79), the interrogative pronouns which serve as hosts for =*ta* are the missing argument in the interrogative clause.<sup>33</sup> The occurrence of =*ta* is not restricted to ProPs. In (3.80), it occurs on the head of an NP:

(3.80)

ima      tunu=**ra**                      ?  
what      manner =**ta**  
'how (lit. in what way) is this [possible]?'

el\_03102014\_01 049

The marker only occurs on nominal hosts twice in the elicited discourse corpus, both times in content questions. In the unglossed part of the corpus, the occurrence of =*ta* on nouns is not readily distinguishable from accusative marking. Nonetheless, the occurrences of =*ta* on nouns seem infrequent, which is compatible with its 'content question marker' analysis.

In the 'elicited discourse' corpus =*ta* was only attested once on a nominalised verbal host, but it also occurred on nominalised, non-finite and finite verbs in the naturalistic discourse corpus. In (3.81), it attaches to a finite verbal host:

---

<sup>33</sup> Note that there is an idiosyncrasy in how the ACC -*ta* is realised in (3.78) and (3.79). In both cases the marker follows [i], but it is realised as [ra] in the first case, and [ta] in the second. The same idiosyncrasy applies to =*ta* when occurring after [i]. After monosyllabic hosts ending in [i] (e.g. *pi* 'who', *chi* 'D.DEM', *kay* 'P.DEM'), both markers are realised as [ra]. On disyllabic hosts, such as (*may-bi* 'where-LOC', *pani* 'sister.of.male'), both markers are realised as [ta]. At present, I cannot account for this idiosyncrasy.

(3.81)

imasna tia-ri-sha miku-na=mi ni-ngui=**ra**=y, kasna=ga ?  
 how be-ANTIC-COR eat-INF=mi say-2=**ta**=y like.this=ga  
 ‘How do you say one has to sit [while] eating, like this?’

in\_20092013\_03 229

The marker is often attested in non-verbal and complex verbal predicates. In these contexts, similarly to (3.81) above, it tends to co-occur with the emphatic non-declarative =y (see Section 3.3.2.10). While =*ta* occurs on the main verb/predicate, =y attaches to the AUX or COP:

(3.82)

*Imarangay?*

ima =**ta** a -nga =y  
 what =**ta** COP -FUT =y  
 ‘What could it be?’

el\_16082013\_01 191

(3.83) = (3.2)

*Mayta rinarangay kay wagra*  
 may =**ta** ri -na =**ta** a-nga=y kay wagra  
 where =**ta** go -INF=**ta** AUX-FUT=y P.DEM cow

*shayashkamandaga?*

shaya -shka -manda =ga  
 stand -ANT -ABL =ga

‘Where does one have to go from where that cow is standing?’

el\_22102014\_01 013

Example (3.83) shows that in rapid speech, when occurring on complex predicates, =*ta* can be realised as a proclitic on the AUX. The enclitic =*ta* was also attested on an adverbial host:

(3.84)

|                 |                   |            |                  |     |
|-----------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|-----|
| <i>Kaybi...</i> | <i>imashtí...</i> | <i>shu</i> | <i>kariga...</i> |     |
| kay -pi         | mashti            | shu        | kari             | =ga |
| P.DEM -LOC      | whats.its.name    | one        | man              | =ga |

|                 |                |                  |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>musicara</i> | <i>uyawka,</i> | <i>shinaray?</i> |
| musica -ta      | uya -w -ka     | shina =ta =y     |
| music -ACC      | hear-PROG-PST  | like.this =ta =y |

‘There, a man, [he] was listening to music, was that so?’

el\_05122014\_01 008

The utterance quoted in (3.84) is part of a dialogue in which two consultants separately watched near-identical videos and were asked to compare them. The speaker in (3.84) presents the plot of the video he watched, and uses the demonstrative adverbial<sup>34</sup> *shina* (‘like.this’) with interrogative morphology to elicit confirmation. The co-occurrence of *=ta* on the adverbial *shina* requires a closer investigation (see also discussion of *shina* in Section 3.3.2.12). In all other contexts, *=ta* functions as a content question marker, while in collocation with *shina* it occurs in yes/no questions, seeking confirmation. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that *shinara(y)* seems to be a collocation the meaning of which has shifted from the original meanings of its parts.

Finally, it is prudent to mention that *=ta* is not required for the grammaticality of any of the examples given above. Content questions without *=ta* are used very often in everyday discourse, but in careful speech, or in elicitation, they are almost always uttered with *=ta*. In the corpus, *=ta* co-occurred on the same host with *=y*, and was only attested once in a cluster with both *=y* and *=ri*. It was not attested on the same host with any of the other markers discussed in this chapter. In terms of its phonological properties, *=ta* is ambiguous between a suffix and a clitic. Preliminary auditory and pitch contour examination of 40 tokens of *=ta* has shown that it does not affect the stress pattern of its host in just over a half (n=21) of the cases.

In sum, *=ta* is a content question enclitic. It was attested in the corpus to occur on hosts from several phrasal categories, always attaching to the head, but not always

<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of the development of *hina*, a cognate of *shina* into a ‘deictic clausal highlighter’, see Muysken (2015).

immediately on the right edge of the phrase. It attaches outside all inflectional morphology, and often co-occurs on the same host with the emphatic interrogative enclitic =y, which attaches outside =ta. It optionally participates in the lexical stress assignment of its host.

### 3.3.2.10 =y

The enclitic =y is, to my knowledge, not attested in other varieties of Quechua. It is also relatively infrequent in TK; 28 tokens were attested in the ‘elicited discourse’ corpus. Extracting all the occurrences of =y in the ‘naturalistic discourse’ corpus proved impossible at this stage, since the corpus is not fully parsed and glossed. The corpus contains 3122 [y]-final words, and the enclitic =y is homophonous with an allomorph of the LOC case marker and with the 2SG.IMP marker. Nonetheless, preliminary conclusions about the properties of =y can be reached on the basis of the available data. The distribution of =y with different types of hosts is shown in Table 3.11.

**Table 3.11 Distribution of =y with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Particle | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 1    | 19      | 7              | 1        | 28  |
| Percentage of tokens | 3.5  | 68      | 25             | 3.5      | 100 |

As shown in Table 3.11, 68% of the tokens of =y occurred on pronominal hosts. All of these were on interrogative pronouns, and almost 70% (n=13) – on *ima* (‘what’), always in collocation either with the dubitative/polar question marker =cha, as in (3.85), or with the content question marker =ta, as in (3.86):

(3.85)

|                               |                   |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Warmiwnachu</i>            | <i>imachay...</i> |
| warmi -guna =chu              | ima =cha =y       |
| wife -PL =chu                 | what =cha =y      |
| ‘[I think] they are women...’ |                   |

el\_16082013\_01 161



(3.86)

Kari=ga mashti-ra ima=ra=y.... revista,  
man=ga whats.its.name -ACC what=INT =y newspaper

chi-ta lea-w-n, riku-w-sha tia-ka.  
D.DEM -ACC read -PROG -3 see-PROG-COR be -PST

‘The man...what is it..a newspaper, he reads that, he sits [there] looking (reading).’

el\_05122014\_01 005

The properties of the collocation *imacha* were described in Section 3.3.2.7, where I concluded that it might be in the process of universalisation into an epistemic discourse marker. The data suggests that the same conclusion could be applied to *imara* (what=ta), which, both with and without the enclitic =y, expresses doubt or hesitation on the part of the speaker.

In the six cases where =y occurred on a pronominal host other than *ima*, it also always occurred on the same host with either =cha, as in (3.85) above, or =ta, as in (3.87) and (3.88):

(3.87) = (3.53)

Riku-ngui=chu Jacobo? Pi=ta=y?  
see -2 =chu NAME who=ta =y

‘Do you see, Jacobo? Who is that?’

el\_16082013\_01 016

(3.88)

Maykan=da=y kasna-manda shuwa runa ?  
which =ta=y like.this -ABL thief person

‘From among those, who is the thief?’

el\_28112014\_06 001

As shown in Table 3.11, =y was attested only once on a nominal host, and once on a discourse particle. In both cases, it co-occurred with the content question marker =ta:

(3.89)

|               |                 |                   |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>Kuchi,</i> | <i>kuchiray</i> | <i>imashti...</i> |
| kuchi         | kuchi =ta =y    | mashti            |
| pig           | pig =ta =y      | whats.its.name    |

‘The pig, what’s with the pig, what’s it’s name...’

el\_24112014\_02 105

The example above comes from an elicitation task in which one of the consultants had to describe to the other how to order the cards depicting animals. The speaker hesitated when describing the animals to her interlocutor, and immediately uttered a self-correction, using interrogative marking and =y.

In the naturalistic discourse corpus, =y was also attested on a predicate adjective, again in an interrogative clause. In this case, it co-occurred on the same host with the polar question/negation marker =chu (see Section 3.3.2.6):

(3.90)

|         |             |                  |
|---------|-------------|------------------|
| Kam-ba  | churi-wa=s  | atun=lla=chu=y ? |
| 2SG-GEN | son-DIM=pas | big =lla=chu=y   |

‘Is your son also big [already]?’

ta\_07062013\_01 131

Note that =y also co-occurs with =chu in the only non-interrogative contexts in which it was attested in the corpus. Consider:

(3.91)

|            |                             |                             |              |
|------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ama</i> | <i>mandzarichichuyguti!</i> |                             |              |
| ama        | mandza-ri                   | -ychi                       | =chu =y=guti |
| PROH       | fear                        | -ANTIC-2PL.IMP=Q/NEG=y=guti |              |

‘Don’t be afraid!’

ev\_29082013\_01c 010

In (3.92), on the other hand, =y occurs together with =chu in a hypothetical construction:

(3.92)

|          |         |      |                |                    |
|----------|---------|------|----------------|--------------------|
| Allpara  | mikuna  | sami | ajpichuy,      | lumuwa=lla-ra      |
| allpa-ta | miku-na | sami | a-kpi=chu =y   | lumu -wa =lla-ta   |
| soil-ACC | eat-INF | kind | be-SWREF=chu=y | manioc-DIM=lla-ACC |

|           |          |
|-----------|----------|
| tarpusha  | mikusha. |
| tarpu-sha | miku-sha |
| plant-COR | eat -COR |

‘As if the soil was for eating, planting just some manioc, [we have to] eat.’

in\_01082013\_02 037

The English translation of (3.92) does not convey its meaning very well – in TK discourse, the verbs affixed with *=chu=y* seem to convey a negative rhetorical question meaning. In both of the above examples, the semantic contribution of *=y* to the clause seems to consist in reinforcing the meanings of *=chu*. Constructions exemplified in (3.91) and (3.92) are infrequent in the corpus and require further investigation based on more data.

Seven tokens of *=y* were attested on verbal hosts, five of which co-occurred with the future marker *-nga*. Consider:

(3.93) = (3.83) = (3.2)

|                |            |            |            |
|----------------|------------|------------|------------|
| chi-manda=ga,  | may-ta     | ri-na=ra   | a-nga=y    |
| D.DEM -ABL =ga | where -ACC | go-INF =ta | be -FUT =y |

|       |       |                      |
|-------|-------|----------------------|
| kay   | wagra | shaya-shka-manda=ga? |
| P.DEM | cow   | stand-ANT -ABL =ga   |

‘From there, where does one need to go, from [this place] where the cow is standing?’

el\_22102014\_01 013

In (3.93), *=y* co-occurs on the same host with the future marker *-nga*, and within the same complex verb construction with the interrogative *=ta*. The suffix *-nga* conveys a future tense meaning, and can also be used to present hypothetical/non-actualised events (see Section 2.4.2.2.4). This is the case in (3.93) where, while performing a map task, the consultant is asking her partner for instructions, and the proposition can be interpreted as having an epistemic modal meaning. Similar epistemic modal

interpretation applies to all other cases of the co-occurrence of *-nga* with *=y* in the corpus. Nonetheless, *=y* was also attested in modally unmarked interrogatives:

(3.94)

|              |          |           |               |
|--------------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| Ukllari-k    | shamu-n, | imasna=ra | kapari-ka=y ? |
| hug -AG.NMLZ | come -3  | how =ta   | shout -PST =y |

‘[she/he] comes, hugging [the other person]...what did [he/she] shout?’

e1\_16082013\_01 072

The consultant uttered (3.94) after watching one of the Max Planck reciprocal stimuli videos, in which two people were patting each other’s back, saying ‘hello’ (cf. Evans, Levinson & Enfield 2004). Here, the marker *=y* co-occurs with the content question marker *=ta* not on the same host, but within the same VP. The enclitic *=y* was also attested to co-occur on verbal hosts with the SS marker *-sha*:

(3.95)

|           |           |             |                |
|-----------|-----------|-------------|----------------|
| kuna kay  | maytu-ra  | ima-y=ra    | wakachi-sha=y? |
| now P.DEM | maito-ACC | what-LOC=ta | guard -COR=y   |

‘now where do I store this *maito* (traditional dish)?’

in\_20092013\_02 100

The enclitic co-occurred with *-sha* only in interrogative and rhetorical question contexts. In (3.95), *=y* again co-occurred within the same VP with the interrogative *=ta*.

Most of the tokens of *=y* analysed above occurred in interrogative or quasi-interrogative contexts. It was also attested in imperatives, attaching outside the marker *=chu*. When co-occurring on the same host with other interrogative/dubitative enclitics: *=cha*, *=chu* and *=ta*, *=y* always attaches outside them. It shows no co-occurrence restrictions with tense marking. Apart from its occurrence in rhetorical questions, *=y* was not attested in declarative clauses. Where it occurs, *=y* reinforces the meaning of the markers it co-occurs with, reinforcing the interrogative, imperative or hypothetical meaning of the clause. More detailed study of the marker should be undertaken in future, but the currently available data suggest that *=y* is a

non-declarative emphatic marker. The nature of the emphasis that it adds to utterances is also left to be established by future research.

Assessing the impact of the enclitic on the lexical stress assignment is problematic, since in most cases encountered in the corpus (n=21) it occurs in clitic clusters with *=chu*, *=cha*, and *=ta*, following all of the aforementioned enclitics. Since the other markers consist of a full syllable, they are most likely responsible for the shift in stress assignment of the host, where it occurs. Examination of the examples from both parts of the corpus, where *=y* was the only enclitic occurring on the host, showed that in none of these cases did it affect stress. Only about 15 such occurrences were examined, but a preliminary conclusion can be reached that *=y* does not affect the lexical stress assignment of its host.

In sum, *=y* is a non-declarative emphatic marker, which tends to attach outside enclitics *=chu*, *=cha* and *=ta* and generally follows the distributional patterns of those enclitics. It was also attested to co-occur with the limitative marker *=lla* and – once – with the additive *=pas*. It has no effect on the lexical stress assignment of its host.

### **3.3.2.11 *=lla***

The marker *=lla* is present in other varieties of Quechua (cf. e.g. Cole 1982; Cusihuamán 2001; Faller 2002). For Cuzco (QII), it has been glossed as ‘limitative’ (e.g. Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Calvo Pérez 1993; Faller 2002), and for Imbabura (QII) – as ‘just’ (Cole 1982). Its meaning in other Quechuan languages is similar to the meaning of the TK *=lla*.

Compared to other markers described in this chapter, *=lla* is relatively frequent in the TK corpus. Its distribution with hosts from different word classes in the 2h ‘elicited discourse’ corpus is shown in Table 3.12:

**Table 3.12 Distribution of =lla with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Adjective | Verb | Adverb | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|-----------|------|--------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 32   | 33      | 5         | 24   | 10     | 104 |
| Percentage of tokens | 30.8 | 31.75   | 4.8       | 23   | 9.65   | 100 |

Table 3.12 shows that =lla occurs on all major TK parts of speech, being most frequent on nouns, pronouns and verbs. Unlike other markers described in this chapter, it also occurs on attributive adjectives, which do not function as phrasal heads. Another important difference between =lla and the other markers described in this chapter is that, while the other markers always attach outside inflectional morphology, =lla behaves morphologically more like a suffix, in that it can attach either inside, or outside inflectional morphology. Consider:

(3.96)

*pitijuylla...*                      *imarami*                      *rawnguichu*                      *kawna?*  
piti-ju-y                      =lla    ima-ta=mi                      ra-w-nguichi                      kanguna  
cut-CONT-2SG.IMP=lla    what-INT=mi    make-PROG-2PL                      2PL  
‘just keep cutting [the chicken]....what are you doing?’

ev\_15052013\_04 013

(3.97)

maki=lla-wa                      lushti-ni                      ñuka  
hand=lla-INSTR                      peel -1                      1SG  
‘I peel only by hand’

KICHB20DIC2011MARIALICUY2 087

In (3.96) =lla occurs word-finally on a fully inflected verb in the imperative mood. In (3.97) it attaches to a nominal host, but it occurs to the left of the INSTR -wa indicating the adjunct status of the NP. This shows that =lla precedes case and case-like inflection on nominal hosts, but occurs in a more prototypical clitics position on verbal hosts, where it attaches outside the derivational and inflectional morphology. The reasons for such distributions of the marker remain to be investigated.

Auditory and pitch contour examination of 104 tokens of *=lla* shows that, in almost all cases, *=lla* is fully integrated into the stress pattern of its hosts. Out of the 104 tokens, 27 were mono-syllabic hosts, in which case the occurrence of *=lla* could not affect the penultimate stress pattern. Out of the remaining 77 examples, *=lla* behaved phonologically like a suffix in 71 cases. Out of the 6 cases in which *=lla* did not participate in stress assignment, it attached at the right edge of the word in five cases, and in one, it was followed by the accusative marker. The cases of *=lla* which are not integrated into the lexical stress patterns of its host constitute a small fraction of its total occurrences. Therefore, I hypothesise that these cases are due to some additional factors, which have not been investigated in this study. On the whole, however, it can be concluded that phonologically *=lla* tends to behave like a suffix.

Particles which, like *=lla*, attach to hosts from different grammatical classes without affecting their class membership, and which either precede or follow inflectional morphology, while phonologically behaving like suffixes, have been called multi-based suffixes (cf. Nikolaeva 2014: 126), or mesoclitics (cf. Spencer & Luis 2012). I adopt the latter term to refer to *=lla*.

As mentioned above, on nominal hosts *=lla* follows derivational morphology and number, but precedes both semantic and syntactic case, as in (3.97) above. The same applies to its occurrence on pronominal hosts:

(3.98)

|                  |            |              |       |            |      |               |     |                 |
|------------------|------------|--------------|-------|------------|------|---------------|-----|-----------------|
| <i>Tukurin</i>   |            | <i>chibi</i> |       | <i>chi</i> |      | <i>video,</i> |     | <i>chillay.</i> |
| tuku -ri- -n     | chi        | -pi          | chi   | video      | chi  | =lla          | -pi |                 |
| finish -ANTIC -3 | D.DEM -LOC | D.DEM        | video | D.DEM      | =lla | -LOC          |     |                 |

‘There the video finishes, just there.’

el\_25092014\_02 097

When attaching to nominals in subject function, which occur in the zero-marked nominative case, *=lla* tends to occur word-finally, as in (3.99), unless it is followed by one of the free enclitics, as in (3.100):

(3.99)

Kuti    chi-manda                    iku-mu-w-shka-y,  
again   D.DEM -ABL            enter-CIS-PROG-ANT-LOC

kan=**lla**                    saki-ri-ka-ngui                    chi-bi.  
2SG=**lla**                    stay-ANTIC-PST -2                    D.DEM -LOC

‘When [I] have entered again, only you were left there.’

el\_02122014\_05 008

(3.100)

Kay=**lla**=mi            mariposa,    kay            ñuka-j-pi            mariposa  
P.DEM=**lla**=mi    butterfly    P.DEM    1SG -BEN-LOC            butterfly

tia-n            randi            kay-bi=ga,            araña  
be -3            rather            P.DEM -LOC =ga            spider

‘Only there [there is a] butterfly, there in mine [my video] there is a butterfly, here, on the other hand [there is] a spider.’

el\_22102014\_01 066

The examples given so far show that the meaning of *=lla* is not semantically uniform across its occurrences. On nouns and personal pronouns (examples (3.96) and (3.99), respectively), it tends to encode unique reference (only x and nothing else). However, on locative pronouns, it can have either the unique reference meaning, as in (3.100), or a meaning akin to that of English ‘just’, meaning ‘exactly’ or ‘precisely’ as in (3.98). On adjectival and adverbial hosts, *=lla* encodes a kind of diminutive or emphatic meaning:

(3.101)

Ashanga    undachi-sha    chura-w                    [shu    ruku=**lla**    runa].  
basket    fill    -COR    put    -PROG            one    old =**lla**    man

‘Filling the baskets, a little old man puts [the fruit into the basket].’

el\_18092014\_02 05



(3.102)

|                 |              |                  |                  |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>intirura</i> | <i>apan,</i> | <i>shuraylla</i> | <i>churaj...</i> |
| intiru-ta       | apa-n        | shuray =lla      | chura -k         |
| whole-ACC       | grab-3       | at.once =lla     | put -AG.NMLZ     |

‘he grabs the whole thing, he puts it at once [on the bicycle]’

el\_25092014\_03 030-31

Example (3.101) shows that, unlike any of the markers described so far in this chapter, =lla can occur on nominal modifiers, and hence is not restricted to phrasal heads. It also suggests that the semantics of =lla differs depending on whether it occurs on the dependent or on the head of the NP. Compare (3.101) with (3.103):

(3.103)

|          |           |       |       |             |      |
|----------|-----------|-------|-------|-------------|------|
| Runa=lla | upi-na    | chi   | yura. | Allku-guna, | mana |
| mana=lla | drink-INF | D.DEM | tree  | dog -PL     | NEG  |

‘Only men have to drink [the juice of] this tree, not dogs.’

in\_05092014\_01 022-23

Example (3.103) shows that when occurring on nominal heads, =lla encodes unique reference, and, as mentioned above, on modifiers within the NP, it has a sort of diminutive meaning. While on adjectives =lla has a diminutive meaning across the corpus, its meaning is less uniform on head nouns. Consider:

(3.104) = (3.37)

|                     |              |                 |
|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>Kariwnallas</i>  | <i>pacha</i> | <i>apayawna</i> |
| kari -guna=lla =pas | pacha        | apaya -guna     |
| man -PL =lla =pas   | EXCL         | man -PL         |

|                  |                      |
|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>mikushama</i> | <i>pasarianun...</i> |
| miku -sha =ma    | pasa -ria -nun       |
| eat -COR =ma     | pass -CONT -3PL      |

‘[The] young men, gosh, [the] guys pass by, eating...’

el\_25092014\_03 069

In (3.104), =lla encodes a diminutive/emphatic meaning, despite occurring on the nominal head. The lack of the ‘unique reference’ meaning is, in this case, confirmed

by the co-occurrence of *=lla* with the additive *=pas*. The syntactic and discourse contexts in which *=lla* expresses a diminutive/emphatic meaning despite occurring on a head noun need further investigation.

When occurring on verbal hosts, *=lla* attaches to the right edge of the word, following the tense and agreement morphology, but preceding any other enclitics attaching to the same host. The limitative marker occurs on both non-finite and finite verbs. In both contexts, it can either encode the meanings of unique reference, or a meaning of emphasis. Consider:

(3.105)

|                      |         |       |             |
|----------------------|---------|-------|-------------|
| riku-sha= <b>lla</b> | pasa-n  | chi   | churi-wa... |
| see -COR= <b>lla</b> | pass -3 | D.DEM | son -DIM    |

‘This boy passes by, just looking...’

el\_21092014\_03 75

(3.106) = (3.28)

|       |      |             |       |          |      |                        |
|-------|------|-------------|-------|----------|------|------------------------|
| Kay   | kari | yanga=mi    | tia-n | ima=s    | mana | ra-sha= <b>lla</b> ... |
| P.DEM | man  | nothing =mi | be-3  | what=pas | NEG  | make-COR= <b>lla</b>   |

‘The man is there for nothing, he doesn't do a thing...’

el\_05122014\_01 078

Example (3.105) above is a description of the final scene of the Pear Story (Chafe 1980). The narrator was expecting that the farmer would capture the boy, but the boy has only passed by, undisturbed. In (3.106), the unique reference meaning does not apply, and *=lla* seems to rather add a meaning of emphasis, drawing attention to the subordinate clause it marks. Similar idiosyncrasy applies to the occurrences of the marker on finite verbs — see (3.96) above. In cases like (3.96) and (3.106), *=lla* could potentially be analysed as encoding a meaning similar to that of the English ‘just’, ambiguous between limitative and emphatic.

The mesoclitic *=lla* co-occurs with several enclitics discussed in this chapter, namely with *=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=chu*, *=cha*, *=pas*, *=tá*, *=y* and *=guti*. It always attaches to their left. It was not attested with any of the other markers, but their co-occurrence restrictions were not checked in elicitation.

In sum, the marker *=lla* is a mesoclititic, that is, it can attach both inside and outside inflectional morphology. It tends to precede case marking on nominals and attach word-finally on verbs, though preceding the enclitics with which it co-occurs. Unlike any of the other markers described so far, it can occur on attributive adjectives. Morphophonologically, it behaves like a suffix. Most often it encodes unique reference meaning, but it can also express a diminutive meaning, or add general emphasis to the clause. It remains to be investigated what insights can be gained with respect to the semantic and pragmatic properties of *=lla* by comparing it with distributionally similar limitative markers attested cross-linguistically (see e.g. Schultze-Berndt 2002 for an overview of such markers in Australian languages).

### 3.3.2.12 *=llara*

The marker *=llara* is, to my knowledge, not described for other Quechuan varieties. While it is homophonous with the combination of the limitative */=lla/* and *[ra]*, the postvocalic allomorph of the ACC */-ta/* or the interrogative */=ta/*, many occurrences of *[llara]* in the corpus cannot be analysed as LIM-ACC or LIM-INTER. I postulate *=llara* to be a separate marker in TK. While it is possible that it emerged from the combination of LIM and ACC marking, diachronic investigation of its origins is beyond the scope of this study. Note that several Quechua varieties exhibit combinations of suffixes with semantics similar to that of the TK *=llara*. In Bolivian Quechua varieties, the combination of suffixes *-lla-taq*, frequently co-occurring with the additive *-pis*, means roughly ‘and that too is the case’ (Howard 2013:17):

(3.107) Bolivian Quechua (QII)

|                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| pay-pis                       | waliq-lla-taq |
| she/he-also                   | fine-just-and |
| ‘and she/he too is just fine’ |               |

Howard (2013:17, original glossing)

While in TK *=llara* does not seem to frequently co-occur with *=pas*, the semantics of *-lla-taq* in Bolivian Quechua suggests the combination of the two suffixes as a likely cognate of the TK *=llara*. For Huánuco Quechua (QI), Weber (1989: 510) reports a co-occurrence of the *-lla* (limitative) and *-raq* (‘still’/‘yet’) on the lexicalised expression *chayllaraj* (P.DEM-lla-raq), meaning ‘just a moment ago’. Weber (1989) only gives one example of the co-occurrence of the two markers,

hence the possibilities of comparing the Huánuco construction with the TK *=llara* are limited.

Table 3.13 shows the distribution of the marker's tokens encountered in the elicited discourse corpus with hosts from different grammatical categories:

**Table 3.13 Distribution of *=llara* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun  | Pronoun | Verb/<br>Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All |
|----------------------|-------|---------|--------------------|--------|----------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 8     | 10      | 10                 | 46     | 2        | 76  |
| Percentage of tokens | 10.55 | 13.2    | 13.15              | 60.5   | 2.6      | 100 |

The naturalistic discourse corpus contained a further 500+ tokens of the marker. While no detailed distributional study was conducted on that bigger part of the corpus, preliminary observations confirm that the distribution of *=llara* across both parts of the corpus is similar.

On nominal and pronominal hosts, the marker *=llara* could be analysed as encoding definite reference by signalling the identity of the referent it marks with a referent already given in discourse (see Section 4.3). Consider:

(3.108)

|                 |                               |              |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ima, chi</i> | <i>wawawnallarachu</i>        | <i>chima</i> |
| ima chi         | wawa -guna <b>=llara</b> =chu | chi -ma      |
| what D.DEM      | child -PL <b>=llara</b> =chu  | D.DEM -DAT   |

|                    |          |                        |
|--------------------|----------|------------------------|
| <i>tupayrinun</i>  | <i>o</i> | <i>shujkunachu...?</i> |
| tupa -y- ri -nun   | o        | shu -guna =chu         |
| meet -COV -go -3PL | or       | one -PL =chu           |

‘What, these same children go and meet [the farmer], or [were they] others?’

el\_25092014\_03 57

(3.109)

|                  |               |                       |                      |
|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Yanapanun</i> | <i>chibi,</i> | <i>paynallara</i>     | <i>undachisha...</i> |
| yanapa-nun       | chi -pi       | payguna= <b>llara</b> | undachi -sha         |
| help -3PL        | D.DEM -LOC    | 3PL = <b>llara</b>    | fill -COR            |

*There they are helping, they themselves [are] filling [the basket with fruit]*

el\_25092014\_03 051

Examples above come from descriptions of the Pear Story (Chafe 1980), and in both cases the referents of the noun, as in (3.108), and the pronoun, as in (3.109), are identical to a referent indicated in previous discourse. Moreover, in (3.108) it is that very identity that is queried by the interrogative, indicating that =*llara* contributes truth-conditional meaning to the utterance (see Section 4.1.1). As many other markers described in this chapter, =*llara* was only attested to occur on the head of the phrase.

While the ‘identity of reference’ meaning is well-suited to describe the occurrences of =*llara* on nominal hosts, its meaning on verbal hosts is slightly different. Before I discuss the semantics of =*llara* on verbs, however, it is prudent to mention that its occurrences on verbal hosts are relatively infrequent in both parts of the corpus. As shown in Table 3.13, under 12% of the tokens of =*llara* in the elicited discourse corpus occurred on verbal hosts. Moreover, in both parts of the corpus, the marker does not occur on main verbs, but only on nominalised and subordinate verbal hosts. On nominalised verbs, which function as arguments and adjuncts in the clause, =*llara* has the same semantic effect as on ‘regular’ nominal hosts:

(3.110)

|                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>pitiwshkamallara</i>            | <i>paktasha,</i> |
| piti -w -shka -ma = <b>llara</b>   | pakta -sha       |
| cut -PROG -ANT -DAT = <b>llara</b> | arrive -COR      |

|              |                  |                   |
|--------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>chita</i> | <i>pasanawka</i> | <i>narajpi...</i> |
| chi -ta      | pasa -nuka       | shinarakpi        |
| D.DEM-ACC    | pass -3PL.PST    | therefore         |

‘getting to [the place where he] was cutting, they passed that place, and so...’

el\_24092014\_04 16

In (3.110), the Anterior marker *-shka* is used to form a participle, which in this case functions as a locative adjunct. The marker *=llara* indicates that the relative clause refers to the same place which was already evoked in previous discourse.

On non-nominalised verbal hosts, *=llara* only co-occurs with the marker *-sha*, indicating action concomitant to that of the main verb (see Section 2.5.3.2.3):

(3.111)

|              |            |                        |             |                       |
|--------------|------------|------------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| <i>chaja</i> | <i>uma</i> | <i>ashallara,</i>      | <i>mama</i> | <i>ashallara,</i>     |
| chaja        | uma        | a -sha= <b>llara</b> , | mama        | a-sha= <b>llara</b> , |
| SA.fox       | head       | COP-COR= <b>llara</b>  | mother      | COP-COR= <b>llara</b> |

|                |                      |
|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>kawnara</i> | <i>estudiachini!</i> |
| kanguna-ta     | estudia-chi-ni       |
| 2PL -ACC       | study-CAUS-1         |

‘[I myself] being silly (lit. being a fox’s head), being a mother, [but] I make you study!’

in\_25052013\_1\_02 318

In (3.111) the semantics of both *-sha*, encoding the same agent as that of the main verb, and *=llara*, encoding reference to a previously mentioned referent, converge resulting in an emphatic reading of the action being performed by the same agent. Discourse contexts in which these two markers are likely to attach to the same host remain to be investigated.

As shown in Table 3.13, *=llara* most frequently occurs on adverbs. Over 65% (n=30) of all the occurrences of the marker on adverbial hosts were on the same adverb: *shina* (like.this). Another 32.5% (n=15) occurred on *kuti* (again):

(3.112)

|                     |     |             |            |
|---------------------|-----|-------------|------------|
| <b>kuti=llara</b>   | shu | ashanga-ma  | chura-n... |
| again= <b>llara</b> | one | bucket -DAT | put -3     |

‘Once more he is puts(the fruit) in a basket...’

el\_21092014\_02 68

(3.113)

Piti-w-n...            piti-w-n.            Kari=s            piti-w-n            shina=**llara**.  
 cut -PROG-3    cut -PROG-3            man =pas    cut -PROG -3    like.this =**llara**  
 ‘[she] is cutting, cutting...the man is also cutting in the same way’

in\_24092014\_01 022

In (3.112), the occurrence of =*llara* on *kuti* (‘again’) seems to add emphasis to the adverb, which itself encodes a repetition of an action. This is similar to the co-occurrence of =*llara* with the COR suffix *-sha* in (3.111). In case of the co-occurrence with the demonstrative adverb *shina* (‘like this’/‘in this way’), as in (3.113), =*llara* encodes reference to some previous instant of the action described by the verb modified by *shina*. The adverb *shina* (‘like.this’) without the enclitic does not encode such reference. Compare (3.113) with (3.114):

(3.114)

kuna    uras=mari            shina            miku-nun  
 now    time=mari            like.this            eat-3PL  
 ‘Nowadays, they eat like this.’

in\_25052013\_1\_02 091

The collocation *shina=llara* can also have a discourse-connective meaning, which roughly translates into the English expression ‘by the same token’. In the elicited discourse corpus, it was used in this sense only once, and that token was excluded from the count of adverbial occurrences of the marker. The remaining one occurrence of =*llara* on adverbial hosts was on *pariju* (‘on.a.par’), the semantics of which is similar to *shina* (‘like.this’).

Phonologically, =*llara* behaves like a regular suffix. Out of the 77 tokens of the marker attested in the elicited discourse corpus, it affected the lexical stress assignment in 73 cases. The four cases in which it did not bear effect on stress assignment were all of personal pronouns used emphatically or contrastively, with emphasis on the root of the host. Morphologically, =*llara* is more clitic-like, since it tends to attach outside all inflectional morphology. However, the ordering of =*llara*

with respect to the ACC marker *-ta* does not seem to be fixed. The examples below show the marker attaching to the right (3.115) and to the left (3.116) of the ACC *-ta*:

(3.115)

|           |                            |            |                       |
|-----------|----------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Ña</i> | <i>pundzayanallara,</i>    | <i>las</i> | <i>tresllarara</i>    |
| <i>ña</i> | <i>pundza-ya-na=lla-ta</i> | <i>las</i> | <i>tres =llara-ta</i> |
| well      | day-VZR-INF=lla-ACC        | DEF.ART.F  | three=llara-ACC       |

‘Well, at dawn, exactly at three.’

in\_01082013\_05 298

(3.116)

|               |            |                            |            |
|---------------|------------|----------------------------|------------|
| <i>Paywa</i>  | <i>uku</i> | <i>kulujwallara,</i>       | <i>uku</i> |
| <i>pay-pa</i> | <i>uku</i> | <i>kuluj -wa =lla-ta</i>   | <i>uku</i> |
| 3SG-GEN       | inner      | heart.of.plant-DIM=lla-ACC | inner      |

|                                   |                    |                         |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>kulujwarallaramari,</i>        | <i>chitaga...</i>  | <i>llushpichisha...</i> |
| <i>kuluj -wa -ta =llara=mari,</i> | <i>chi -ta =ga</i> | <i>llushpi-chi -sha</i> |
| heart.of.plant-DIM-ACC=llara=mari | D.DEM-ACC=ga       | strip -CAUSE-COR        |

‘Just its heart, that same inner heart, that one, peeling it...’

in\_20092013\_01 093

In the 11h corpus of naturalistic discourse, *=llara* precedes the ACC marker four times, and attaches outside it six times. In each of these cases, the co-occurrence of the two markers seems not to be restricted to any particular semantic context, occurring both with the direct object and the ‘adverbial-deriving’ instances of the ACC. The marker always attaches outside all other case morphology.

The marker *=llara* is attested in the corpus on the same host as many of the other markers described in this chapter, namely with the focus marking/epistemic authority *=mi*, the NEG/Q *=chu*, the dubitative/epistemic *=cha*, *=ma*, *=mari*, the additive *=pas*, the topic-marker *=ga* and the emphatic *=y*. What is interesting is that it co-occurs both with markers of focus and topic (see Chapter 4). It was not attested to co-occur with the limitative *=lla*, *=chari*, interrogative *=ta*, verum focus *=tá*, *=ri* or *=guti*. Like all of the markers described so far, except *=lla*, *=llara* was only attested to occur on phrasal heads.



In sum, *=llara* is a marker encoding identity with a previously used referent, or reference to a previously mentioned action. Phonologically, it behaves like a suffix, while morphosyntactically, it is more clitic-like and tends to attach outside inflectional morphology, but preceding other enclitics with which it can co-occur. It was attested to co-occur with most of the markers discussed in this chapter.

### 3.3.2.13 *=pas*

The TK enclitic *=pas* is an additive marker, which has also been reported for other varieties of Quechua. Cole (1982) mentions the additive *=pash* in Imbabura Quechua (QII), while for Cuzco Quechua (QII), both Cusihuáman (1976/2001), and Faller (2002) describe the allomorphs *=pis/=pas*. In TK, it has three allomorphs: [s] after vowels, [bas] after nasals and [pas] in all the other environments.

Table 3.14 shows the distribution of *=pas* in the elicited discourse corpus:

**Table 3.14 Distribution of *=pas* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|--------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 17   | 23      | 7              | 1      | 48  |
| Percentage of tokens | 35.5 | 48      | 14.5           | 2      | 100 |

Table 3.14 only takes into account the tokens attested in the elicited discourse corpus. Furthermore, 28 tokens of the *=pas* allomorphs [=pas] and [=bas] were attested in the 11h naturalistic discourse corpus. The tokens of the postvocalic allomorph [=s] were not counted, given that the corpus is not entirely glossed and they would have to be selected from over 1500 lexical words with final /s/. However, the occurrences attested in the elicited discourse corpus allow for an insight into the distributional properties and semantics of the marker. While all tokens of *=pas* can be analysed as carrying additive meaning, the details of its semantics seem to differ depending on the type of its host. This is shown in the discussion below.

Over one-third of the marker's tokens occurred on nominal hosts (n=17). On these hosts, *=pas* can for the most part be interpreted as an additive marker, indicating that a given predicate holds for the *=pas*-marked argument, as well as for another argument, mentioned previously, or salient in the discourse context:

(3.117)

taka-ri-sha                      urma-n                      ña...      chi                      churi-wa...  
crush-ANTIC-COR    fall -3                      well    D.DEM                      son -DIM

y            palta=s                      sa                      urma-n...  
and    avocado=**pas**                      all.over.the.place                      fall -3

‘the kid falls, crushing, and the avocados also fall, all over the place’

el\_21092014\_03 042-43

(3.118)

shu señora... sika -n      escalera-ma,      ña                      piti-w-n.  
one woman go.up-3      stairs -DAT already cut-PROG -3

Piti-w-n...                      piti-w-n....                      kari=s                      piti-w-n                      shina=llara.  
cut -PROG-3 cut -PROG -3                      man =**pas** cut -PROG-3                      like.this=llara

‘A woman....goes up the ladder, now she is cutting [harvesting the fruit]. She is cutting...the man is also cutting as well.’

in\_24092014\_01 021-22

When occurring on nominal hosts, the enclitic is often used together with the adverbial *shina(llara)* (like.this=llara ‘as well’/‘in the same way’, see Section 3.3.2.12), used as a discourse connective. This is the case in (3.118) above, in a construction reminiscent of the English *also...as well*. The enclitic has additive meaning also when occurring on personal (3.119) and locative (3.120) pronouns:

(3.119)

ñuka                      salurani, kambas                      salurangui      pay                      randi  
ñuka                      salura-ni kan =**pas**                      salura-ngui      pay                      randi  
1SG                      greet -1      2SG =**pas**                      greet -2                      3.PRO                      rather

paywa                      churimachari                      saluran  
pay -pa                      churi ima =chari                      salura -n  
3SG -GEN      son      what =chari                      greet -3

‘I greet, you greet too, he greets, maybe [he greets] his son...’

el\_16082013\_02 005

(3.120)

*chibis*                      *illan*  
 chi    -pi    =**pas**   illa    -n  
 D.DEM-LOC=**pas**    be.without -3  
 ‘here as well there isn’t any [seeds]’

el\_03102014\_01 061

However, when =*pas* occurs on interrogative pronouns, it acquires a different meaning. In declarative clauses, interrogative pronouns which act as hosts for =*pas* function as free-choice indefinite pronouns (cf. Haspelmath 2013), with a meanings similar to that expressed by the English interrogative pronouns suffixed with *-ever*:

(3.121)

Ima-ra=s                      shuwa-sha                      ri-w-pis  
 what-ACC=**pas**                      steal -COR                      go -PROG -CON  
  
 ña    mana                      ripara-na=lla  
 well    NEG                      realise-INF=lla  
 ‘Whatever he was stealing, [we] would not realise...’

el\_05122014\_02 010

(3.122)

aycha ima=s                      apa-mu-kpi                      chi=ga                      gustu  
 meat    what=**pas**                      bring-CIS-SWREF    D.DEM=ga    nicely  
  
 birbilla                      rupa-chi-na  
 quickly                      burn-CAUS-INF  
 ‘Whatever meat they bring, it will cook nicely and quickly.’

in\_20092013\_02 132

When =*pas* occurs on interrogative pronouns in negative clauses, the free choice pronouns acquire a negative polarity reading:

(3.123) = (3.106) = (3.28)

Kay    kari    yanga=mi                      tia-n    ima=s                      mana    ra-sha=lla...  
 P.DEM    man    nothing =mi                      be -3    what=**pas**                      NEG    make-COR=lla  
 ‘The man is there for nothing, he doesn’t do a thing.’

el\_05122014\_01 078

(3.124)

Mana pi-wa=s shun dolar-wa-lla=s mana yanapa-sha  
 NEG who-DIM=**pas** one dollar-DIM=lla=**pas** NEG help-COR  
 ‘No one has helped [me], not even with one little dollar’

in\_25052013\_2\_02 036

The negative particle *mana* does not seem to have a fixed position with respect to the interrogative pronoun it affects, and can either precede it, as in (3.124), or follow it, as in (3.123). The most frequent construction of the type showcased above is *mana imas* (NEG what=s, ‘[it’s] nothing’), used ubiquitously in everyday discourse, e.g. in response to being thanked. Future research on TK should explore the syntactic and semantic properties of occurrences of =*pas* on interrogative pronouns in more detail.

In the elicited discourse corpus, seven tokens of =*pas* occurred on verbal hosts. On nominalised verbs, =*pas* has the same additive meaning as on nominal hosts. Consider (3.125), where =*pas* occurs on a headless relative clause denoting an object argument of the matrix clause:

(3.125)

*allpama urmaktas ña ahangamallara*  
 [allpa -ma urma -k -ta =**pas** ]<sub>RC</sub> ña ashanga-ma =llara  
 soil -DAT fall -AG.NMLZ-ACC=**pas** already bucket-DAT =llara

*undachiwn...*

undachi-w -n  
 fill -PROG-3

‘also what fell to the ground, [he] now puts in the same basket’

el\_21092014\_02 014

In the examples encountered in the corpus, =*pas* only occurred three times on finite verbs, each time in the main clause of a conditional construction, with =*pas* affixing to the verbal host outside the limitative clitic =*lla*. In (3.126) below, =*pas* seems to scope over the predicate, indicating that the subject of the clause performs both the action marked with the COR suffix *-sha* and the action of the main verb, marked with =*pas*. Consider:

(3.126)

*ñukajpi randi shujtunu maka,*  
ñuka -k -pi randi shu - tunu =mi/=ma COP -ka  
1SG -BEN-LOC rather one - manner =mi/=ma COP -PST

*munasha rikunguillas.*

muna-sha riku -ngui =lla =pas  
want -COR see -2 =lla =pas

‘In mine, on the other hand, it was different, you just watch [lit. willing, you (will) also see].’

el\_05122014\_01 076

No occurrences of =pas immediately on a finite second person verb were found in either part of the corpus. It seems that the use of =lla=pas in this type of conditional is conventionalised, but more research is needed into the properties of the TK conditionals in general.

On subordinate verbs, =pas also has an additive meaning:

(3.127)

*tukuyguna shamunawka Diospa shimira uyangakpas*  
tukuy-guna shamu-nuka Dios-pa shimi-ta uya -ngak =pas  
all-PL come-3PL god-GEN word-ACC listen-PURP=pas

‘everyone came to also listen to the word of God’

KICHB07PREDOCHIMBO1 228

(3.128)

*chakanay rashes sika-shka awara...*  
chakana-pi ra -sha =pas sika -shka awa -ta  
ladder -LOC do-COR=pas go.up -ANT high -ACC

‘while also doing [picking the fruit] on the ladder, [he] goes up’

el\_24092014\_03 010

I have briefly mentioned in Section 2.5.3.1 that =pas is used to conjoin not only arguments or clauses within the same complex sentence, but also different units on

the discourse level. More examples and more research are needed to substantiate this hypothesis.

The final type of host on which *=pas* was attested in both parts of the corpus are adverbs. Only one occurrence on an adverbial host was found in the elicited discourse corpus, and in the naturalistic discourse corpus *=pas* occurs several times (n=4) on the adverb *más* ('more'), borrowed from Spanish. In these cases, *=pas* expresses a scalar additive meaning, intensifying the meaning of the adverb:

(3.129)

|                     |            |                              |                  |                  |
|---------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>ari shinara</i>  | <i>mas</i> | <i>ñawpa timpu rukuwna</i>   | <i>maspas</i>    | <i>yachanun</i>  |
| <i>ari shina-ta</i> | <i>mas</i> | <i>ñawpa timpu ruku-guna</i> | <i>mas =pas</i>  | <i>yacha-nun</i> |
| yes, like.this-ACC  | more       | before time old-PL           | more= <b>pas</b> | know-3PL         |

‘Yes, exactly, the old people from the older times, they knew even more.’

in\_13082013\_02 246

While the occurrence of *=pas* on the adverb *más* can consistently be interpreted as scalar additives akin to the English ‘even’, more research is needed into the co-occurrence of *=pas* with other types of adverbial hosts.

The enclitic *=pas* can co-occur on the same host with several other enclitics discussed in this chapter. It was most frequently found co-occurring with the topic marker *=ga*. It also co-occurred with *=chu*. One instance each of its co-occurrence with *=mi*, *=ma* and *=cha*, and *=mari* was also attested. All of the aforementioned enclitics attached outside *=pas*. The additive enclitic also co-occurs with the limitative *=lla* (see (3.123) and (3.126) above) and the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*, attaching outside both of the latter. No co-occurrences of *=pas* with other enclitics discussed in this chapter were attested in both parts of the corpus.

The post-vocalic allomorph [=s] does not affect the stress assignment of the host. For the allomorph [=pas], the situation is different, as shown by auditory and pitch analysis of the available examples of [=pas] (n=30). On one-syllable hosts, the enclitic does not affect the lexical stress, which remains on the host. This is to be expected, since default lexical stress in TK falls on the penultimate syllable. However, in case of hosts consisting of two or more syllables (n=16), the lexical

stress was shifted by the occurrence of *=pas* in 11 cases. Therefore, we can conclude that *=pas* optionally affects the lexical stress assignment.

To sum up, *=pas* is an additive marker, which can also express meanings such as scalar additivity, and which partakes in constructions deriving free-choice pronouns from interrogative pronouns. Like most markers described so far, it was only attested to occur on phrasal heads. Out of all the contexts in which it was attested, it seems to be obligatory only in conditional clauses where it occurs on the same verbal host with the limitative *=lla*. It does contribute meaning which alters the truth conditions of the utterance. It co-occurs with several other TK enclitics in fixed templates, being preceded by the limitative markers and followed by the markers of topic or focus. It optionally affects the lexical stress assignment of its hosts.

#### **3.3.2.14 *=guti***

The marker *=guti* was, to my knowledge, not attested in other varieties of Quechua described to date. It is possible, however, that the marker is etymologically related to the verb *kuti-y* (return-INF), attested e.g. in Bolivian Quechua (Rosaleen Howard, p.c. 23.09.2016).

In the elicited discourse corpus of TK, it only occurred 13 times, but in the larger, 11h corpus of naturalistic discourse data, 108 further occurrences were encountered. When translating from Kichwa to Spanish, consultants most often claimed that *=guti* should be translated as Spanish discourse connective *pues* ('well'), which has a discourse-cohesive function, and expresses meanings including causality and consequence. While such characterisation of the semantics of *=guti* seems to be at least partially accurate, evidence from translation is not enough to settle on how its meaning should be defined (cf. Matthewson 2004). It is also unclear at this stage whether, like *pues*, *=guti* could be analysed as always introducing new information (cf. Briz et al. 2008). It remains to be investigated what insights regarding the semantics and pragmatics of *=guti* could be gained from comparing the TK enclitic to temporal update markers in Australian languages, with which *=guti* shares several distributional properties (cf. Ritz & Schultze-Berndt 2015).

The distribution of *=guti* with different types of hosts is given in Table 3.15. The occurrences in the 'elicited discourse' corpus are shown in brackets:

**Table 3.15 Distribution of =guti with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun  | Pronoun | Verb/<br>Predicate | Adverb | Particle | All     |
|----------------------|-------|---------|--------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| Number of tokens     | 17(1) | 7       | 83(12)             | 3      | 11       | 121(13) |
| Percentage of tokens | 14    | 5.8     | 68.6               | 2.5    | 9.1      | 100     |

Table 3.15 shows that nearly two thirds of all tokens of =guti occurred on verbs or predicates. Over 83% (n=69) of the marker's verbal hosts are finite. The enclitic mostly occurred on verbs in declarative clauses, and it was attested on verbs with present, past and future time reference. Consider:

(3.130)

*sikasha awama, pay bolsay apayringuti...*  
sika -sha awa -ma pay bolsa -pi apa -y- ri -n =guti  
ascend -COR high -DAT 3SG bag -LOC bring -COV- go -3 =guti  
‘going up, he goes and brings [the fruit] in his bag’

el\_24092014\_03 09

The enclitic also occurred on verbal hosts with imperative (n=3) and prohibitive marking (n=1):

(3.131)

limon=lla-wa ra-y=**guti**!  
lemon=lla-INS make-2SG.IMP=**guti**  
‘Do it only with lemon!’

ev\_29082013\_01c 020

(3.132) = (3.91)

*Ama mandzarichichuyguti!*  
ama mandza-ri -ychi =chu=y=**guti**  
PROH fear -ANTIC-2PL.IMP=chu=y=**guti**  
‘Don’t be afraid!’

ev\_29082013\_01c 010



In (3.132), =*guti* co-occurs on the same host with the negative/polar question marker =*chu* and the emphatic non-declarative =*y*, attaching outside both those markers. The enclitic was also found in interrogative clauses, occurring on verbs both with, (3.133) and without (3.134) interrogative morphology:

(3.133)

*Mana, imasharaguti, ishki kariyuj kawsashay ñukaguti?*  
mana ima ra-sha=ta=**guti** ishki kari-yuj kawsa-sha=y ñuka=**guti**  
no what do-COR=ta=**guti** two man-PROP live-COR =y 1SG=**guti**  
‘No, what would I do, living with two husbands?’

ev\_29082013\_01b 003

(3.134)

*Shina chundzuli-ra, shina ra-sha tiasha*  
like.this intestines-ACC like.this do-COR be-COR  
*tukuyra kacha-ngui=**guti** ?*  
all-ACC send -2 =**guti**  
‘Like this the intestines, doing [cutting] it this way you throw [them] all [into water]?’

ev\_29082013\_01c 018

On nominal hosts, =*guti* occurred on heads of NPs fulfilling different grammatical roles, as well as on heads of personal and locative ProPs. An example of its occurrence on a ProP with a subject function is (3.133) above, and the examples below are of =*guti* on subject (3.135) and object (3.136) NPs:

(3.135)

*Chawpiy riw wawaguti, pay pujllawshka*  
chawpi -pi ri -w wawa =**guti** pay puklla -w -shka  
middle -LOC go -PROG child =**guti** 3.PRO play -PROG -ANT  
‘The child who is going in the middle, he has been playing...’

el\_18092014\_02 039

(3.136)

*chi kaja-ra =**guti** kara-manda ra-sha chaja*  
D.DEM drum-ACC=**guti** skin-ABL make-COR SA.fox

|      |             |      |           |
|------|-------------|------|-----------|
| kara | llushti-sha | kaja | ra-nun    |
| skin | peel-COR    | drum | make-3.PL |

‘Doing that skin-made drum, peeling a fox’s skin, they make [the] drum.’

in\_25052013\_2\_03 136

It also co-occurred on nominal hosts with locative and dative case-marking. The enclitic =*guti* only occurs on adjectives when they are used predicatively, which suggests that like most of the other enclitics described in this chapter, it can only grammatically occur on phrasal heads. The enclitic only occurred on adverbs three times in the corpus, all of these on the same host, the time adverbial *kuna* (‘now’).

The examples above, together with their translations, suggest that =*guti* does not make a contribution to the truth conditions of the utterances. Closer examination of TK discourse suggests that =*guti*-marked utterances are more persuasive, or have stronger illocutionary points than their unmarked equivalents, which seems to confirm that it could be analysed as a discourse connective, as suggested by the Spanish translation provided by the consultants. As shown with the examples above, it scopes over all types of speech acts, occurring in declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses. In this respect it differs from markers such as =*mi* and =*ma*, which also seem to have a non-truth conditional effect on the meaning of utterances, but are incompatible with imperatives. The enclitic =*guti* does not have a fixed position in discourse sequences, occurring both in questions and answers in question-answer pairs, and in discourse of different genres, including conversations and monologues. However, closer examination and more data are needed to establish how exactly =*guti* fulfils its discourse-cohesive function, especially since it also occurs on particles, which are themselves discourse-cohesive devices (see Section 3.1). It occurred on particles eleven times in the corpus, ten of those on discourse particles derived from *shina* (like.this), which, depending on the context, can be interpreted as indicating continuity of discourse, as in (3.137), or expressing understanding/agreement, as in (3.138):

(3.137)

*Nararaguti*      ‘bueno   cocinero   manchi                      *nirianuka*’  
shinara =**guti**   ‘bueno   cocinero   =mi/=ma a-nchi      ni -ria      -nuka  
therefore=**guti**      good      cook      =mi/=ma COP-1PL say-CONT-3PL.PST  
‘So then they were saying, “we are good cooks” ’

ev\_15052013\_04 049

(3.138)

*Shinaraguti.*                      *Kunagamama*                      *shina.*  
shina=tá   =**guti**                      kuna-gama=ma                      shina  
like.this=tá=**guti**                      now-ABL =ma                      like.this  
‘Yes, of course. [It’s] like this until now.’

in\_13082014\_01 156

In (3.138), where =*guti* occurs on the particle indicating agreement with the previous statement, it co-occurs with the verum focus particle =*tá* (see Section 3.3.2.5), further enforcing the statement.

The data show that =*guti* optionally triggers changes in lexical stress assignment, with stress patterns of about half of the tokens affected by the occurrence of the enclitic.

To sum up, the enclitic =*guti* seems to express no truth-conditional meaning, but it does seem to strengthen the illocutionary force of the utterances it occurs in. The enclitic is compatible with all types of speech acts. The data suggest that it could be analysed as a discourse connective, but the exact nature of its contribution to the clause needs further investigation. It was attested to co-occur on the same host with enclitic =*cha*, =*chu*, =*y* and =*tá*, attaching outside all of these enclitics. It is restricted to phrasal heads, and optionally affects the stress assignment of its host.

### 3.3.2.15 =*ri*

The enclitic =*ri* was not attested at all in the elicited discourse corpus. However, 42 tokens of the marker were found in the naturalistic discourse corpus. For other Quechuan varieties, =*ri* has been identified as a question marker (cf. Itier 2011: 81). Cusihuamán (1976/2001: 227) glosses the Cuzco Quechua (QII) =*ri* as ‘responsive’

and explains that it marks topics in questions, indicating continuity of conversation. For Tarma Quechua (QI), Adelaar (e.g. 2013: 106) also mentions an emphatic enclitic *=ari*, which can attach outside other enclitics, such as *=mi* or *=cha*, giving rise to their emphatic reading (see Sections 3.3.2.4 and 3.3.2.8). Calvo Pérez (1993: 136) also analyses the Cuzco Quechua *=rí* as an emphatic marker originating from the affirmative particle *arí*. While some occurrences of the enclitic in TK are compatible with the ‘question topic’ interpretation, other indicate that the marker should rather be interpreted as a cognate of the emphatic *=ari*. Both these possibilities are discussed and illustrated with data below.

Table 3.16 shows the distribution of the tokens of *=ri* with different types of hosts :

**Table 3.16 Distribution of *=ri* with different types of hosts**

| Host type            | Noun | Pronoun | Verb/Predicate | Adverb | All |
|----------------------|------|---------|----------------|--------|-----|
| Number of tokens     | 2    | 2       | 24             | 15     | 43  |
| Percentage of tokens | 4.65 | 4.65    | 55.8           | 34.9   | 100 |

As shown in Table 3.16, over 55% of the tokens of *=ri* attach to verbal hosts, and over one third of the encountered tokens attached to adverbial hosts. However, all the occurrences of *=ri* on adverbs come from wedding songs. As discussed in Section 3.3.2.1, it seems that the distribution of enclitics in TK wedding songs – and most likely, other types of songs as well – is driven by the need to preserve the rhythm, rather than by semantic or pragmatic considerations. In the wedding songs, all the tokens of *=ri* occurred on two hosts: *kuna* (‘now’) and *washa* (‘after’). Since no other occurrences of *=ri* on adverbs were attested in the corpus, I will leave the analysis of the occurrences of *=ri* on adverbial hosts to future studies looking in more detail into the ritual song genre.

There were only four occurrences of *=ri* on nouns and pronouns in the corpus:

(3.139)

|                 |               |                 |              |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>Wawawna,</i> | <i>kayga,</i> | <i>wawawna,</i> | <i>riki!</i> |
| wawa-guna       | kay=ga        | wawa-guna       | riki         |
| child-PL        | P.DEM=ga      | child-PL        | see          |

|              |                |                          |
|--------------|----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Gustu</i> | <i>mikuna,</i> | <i>aychagayri!</i>       |
| gustu        | miku-na        | aycha=ga-y= <b>ri</b>    |
| tasty        | eat-INF        | meat =ga-EPEN= <b>ri</b> |

‘Children, here, children, look. [It’s] tasty food, [it’s] meat!’

in\_20092013\_03 200

(3.140)

|            |               |                |                       |
|------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>pay</i> | <i>pishku</i> | <i>imacha,</i> | <i>alusupayri</i>     |
| pay        | pishku        | ima=cha        | alus-supay= <b>ri</b> |
| 3SG        | bird          | what=cha       | piece-AUG= <b>ri</b>  |

‘His penis [lit. bird] looked like a piece of string.’

in\_26052013\_02 280

Examples (3.139) and (3.140) above are the only two cases of =*ri* occurring on nouns. As much as it is difficult to generalise on the basis of so little data, the enclitic seems to carry some sort of an expressive meaning (Lyons 1995: 44), indicating the speaker’s emotional attitude with respect to the content of the proposition. Interpreting =*ri* as expressive would be in line with analysing it as a cognate of the emphatic =*ari* from other Quechuan varieties. Nonetheless, at this stage ‘expressive’ can only be used as a preliminary label, and more data is needed to provide a more satisfactory description of the semantics of =*ri*.

The same can be said about its occurrence on a demonstrative pronoun in (3.141) and on an interrogative pronoun/particle (see Section 3.3.2.9) in (3.142):

(3.141)

|             |                  |               |                      |
|-------------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| <i>ari,</i> | <i>charinchi</i> | <i>kayway</i> | <i>kaywari</i>       |
| ari         | chari-nchi       | kay -wa -pi   | kay -wa = <b>ri</b>  |
| yes         | have-1PL         | P.DEM-DIM-LOC | P.DEM-DIM= <b>ri</b> |

‘yes, we have [it], in here, here’

in\_07072013\_01 677

(3.142)

|              |                   |               |                    |
|--------------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| <i>manga</i> | <i>tapawallas</i> | <i>illak,</i> | <i>warmiwnachu</i> |
| manga        | tapa-wa =lla=pas  | illa-k        | warmi-guna=chu     |
| pot          | lid-INSTR=lla=pas | lack-AG.NMLZ  | woman-PL =chu      |

|                      |             |                  |
|----------------------|-------------|------------------|
| <i>imarayri</i>      | <i>mana</i> | <i>apamungaj</i> |
| ima =ta=y= <b>ri</b> | mana        | apa-mu-ngaj      |
| what=ta=y= <b>ri</b> | NEG         | bring-CIS-PURP   |

‘does this pot have no lid, as if you were women, not to bring [the lid]’

in\_20092013\_02 223

In (3.141) =*ri* co-occurs on the same host with a diminutive marker, which is compatible with its ‘expressive’ interpretation – the DIM -*wa* is often used to convey information in an affective manner (see Section 2.3.1.2), and using =*ri* could further strengthen the affective interpretation of the utterance. In (3.142), an opposite situation obtains. The speaker is scolding her daughters-in-law for not having brought the appropriate kitchen utensils. In this case, the use of =*ri* could be licenced by the speaker’s anger.

The remaining tokens of =*ri* attested in the corpus all occur on verbs. On finite verbs, =*ri* was only attested to co-occur with first person (both singular and plural) and second person (singular):

(3.143)

|                     |                  |                          |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>Kutawllamari</i> | <i>kishpisha</i> | <i>sakiniriguti...</i>   |
| kuta-w=lla=mari     | kishpi-sha       | saki-ni= <b>ri</b> =guti |
| chew-PROG=lla=mari  | escape-COR       | leave-1= <b>ri</b> =guti |

‘[I was] just chewing, escaping, I left [what I was eating]’

in\_20092013\_03 154

(3.144)

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| imasna | ra-ngui= <b>ri</b> ? |
| how    | do-2 = <b>ri</b>     |

‘how are you doing [this]?’

in\_20092013 033

Presence in interrogative constructions like (3.144) was the prototypical use of =*ri* described by Cusihuamán (1976/2001) for Cuzco Quechua. As discussed at the beginning of this section, he claimed that the meaning of the enclitic was to mark discourse continuity and topics in questions. The data suggest that the poll of

speakers I worked with exhibits variation in their use of *=ri*. Using *=ri* in constructions such as (3.144) is seen as a dialectal feature by some of my consultants, and few of the speakers I have recorded use *=ri* as an interrogative topic marker. The ‘interrogative topic marker’ interpretation is further put into question by the fact that most *=ri*-marked clauses attested in the corpus are not interrogative. Moreover, as shown, in (3.139), on non-verbal hosts *=ri* can attach to the same host as the topic marker *=ga* (see Section 3.3.2.1), which would result in redundancy if both the enclitics were associated with of topicality.

The enclitic co-occurs with the interrogative *=ta* and the emphatic *=y*:

(3.145)

*Imay, ima llakta nindayri?*  
 ima=y ima llakta nin=ta=y=ri  
 what=y what town say=ta=y=ri  
 ‘Which...which town did you say?’

in\_13082014\_01 377

In (3.145), although occurring in an interrogative clause, *=ri* does not mark the topic of the question, but seems to add the ‘expressive’ meaning, compatible with the emphasis added to the utterance by *=y*. The two enclitics can also co-occur on verbal hosts in hypothetical constructions marked with the FUT *-nga* (see Section 2.4.2.2.4):

(3.146)

*Imayllara kachunga tiangayri, nisha*  
 ima -pi =llara kachun=ga tia-nga =y=ri ni-sha  
 what-LOC=llara daughter-in-law=ga be-FUT=y=ri say-COR  
 ‘So they were saying, ‘just where would the daughter-in-law be?’

in\_25052013\_1\_01 182

(3.147)

*Palandas allimari angayri.*  
 palanda=s alli =mari a -nga =y=ri  
 plantain=s good=mari COP-FUT=y=ri  
 ‘Plantain should/would be good as well (when cooked).’

in\_20092013\_03 108

In (3.146), the ‘expressive’ meaning of *=ri*, and well as of the non-declarative emphatic *=y*, could be licenced by the fact that the utterance is a part of a story, and the speaker wishes to convey the question as dramatic, since the disappearance of the daughter-in-law is crucial for the development of the story. The utterance in (3.147) presents the speaker’s subjective evaluation of a certain proposition, and hence is also compatible with ‘expressive meaning’ as defined by Lyons (1995: 44).

The enclitic *=ri* also occurs on imperative verbs, although such occurrences are not without analytical problems. In TK, the 2SG.IMP can be expressed either by the bare verb stem, or by the 2SG.IMP suffix *-y* (see Section 2.4.2.4.1 and (3.139) above).

However, TK also has a coverb construction, where the coverb stem *ri* (‘to go’) attaches to the stem of the main verb, with or without a coverb marker *-y-*, yielding constructions with meaning similar to the English ‘go and do something’. Therefore, when occurring on imperative verbs, the enclitic *=ri* is often difficult to distinguish from the coverb construction. For the sake of consistency, all cases of the bare verb stem affixed with *-y* and *-ri* encountered in the corpus, which were semantically consistent with the ‘go and do x’ interpretation, were considered coverb constructions. Consider:

(3.148)

|  |                  |                  |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| <i>Ashangara</i>                       | <i>apayri...</i> | <i>kachun.</i>   |
| Ashanga-ra                             | apa -y-ri        | daughter-in-law  |
| basket-ACC                             | biring-COV-go    | daughther-in-law |
| ‘Go bring the basket, daughter in law’ |                  |                  |

in\_20092013\_02 080

The utterance in (3.148) was analysed as involving a coverb *=ri*, but in other cases, it could be assumed that *=ri* should be glossed as an enclitic, rather than a verb stem:

(3.149)

|                         |
|-------------------------|
| <i>upiri...</i>         |
| upi <b>=ri</b>          |
| drink= <b>ri</b>        |
| ‘Drink!’ / *‘Go drink!’ |

in\_20092013 218



(3.150)

*munashaga,                      apiriri !*  
muna-sha=ga                  api -ri=**ri**  
want-COR=ga                  grab-go=**ri**  
'If you want to, go get [married]!'

ev\_29082013\_01b 096

Cusihuamán (1976/2001: 228) also observes that in Cuzco Quechua *=ri* only occurs on the verb if the clause has two elements, and the non-verbal element is marked by a focus enclitic. This is clearly not the case in TK, where most of the occurrences of *=ri* are on verbal hosts. He also claims that in clauses which only comprise one lexical word, *=ri* can co-occur with focus-marking enclitics such as *=chu* – this has not been attested in the TK corpus. As mentioned previously, in TK, *=ri* was attested to co-occur on the same host with the topic enclitic *=ga*, as in (3.139) above, but not with any of the focus enclitics.

The non-co-occurrence of *=ri* with focus enclitics would be called into question if *=mari* and *=chari* (see Sections 3.3.2.4 and 3.3.2.8, respectively) were to be analysed as co-occurrences of the markers *=cha* and *=ma* with *=ri*. As mentioned previously, in other varieties of Quechua, *=mari* and *=chari* were analysed as emphatic versions of the markers *=mi* and *=cha* (cf. e.g. Cole 1982; Faller 2002). For TK, this analysis is hard to uphold – or refute – on the basis of the little data available, and in the absence of negative evidence. Both *=mari* and *=chari* seem to carry an emphatic meaning component, although how this emphatic meaning arises is not clear at this stage. The distribution of both *=mari* and *=chari* differs from that of *=ri* alone. While *=ri* occurs mostly on verbal hosts, the other markers are more evenly distributed amongst hosts from many grammatical categories. What the markers do have in common, however, is that they were only attested to occur on phrasal heads. Another difference between the markers is that *=ri* always participates in the stress assignment of its hosts (see below), while *=mari* and *=chari* do so optionally. In sum, at this stage it is not possible to establish whether *=mari* and *=chari* should be analysed as co-occurrence of *=mi* (or *=ma*) and *=cha* with *=ri*. More token of *=ri*, *=mari* and *=chari*, and a clearer picture of the semantics of

‘emphatic’ and ‘expressive’ meaning in TK would be needed before any claims can be made in this respect.

In terms of its position, *=ri* behaves like a clitic, attaching to the right of all inflectional morphology and the enclitics it co-occurs with – apart from *=guti*, which, as shown in (3.143), attaches outside *=ri*. However, morphophonologically it is more suffix-like. The preliminary auditory and pitch-contour examination of 29 tokens of the marker shows that in all the cases, *=ri* affected the lexical stress assignment of its host.

In sum, the enclitic *=ri* is most often attested on verbal hosts. The corpus data show that it can co-occur with present and future tense marking, and it is most often found in imperative, interrogative and hypothetical clauses, although it was also attested in assertions. It was only attested to occur on phrasal heads. Distributionally, *=ri* is clitic-like, but at the same time it participates in its hosts’ stress assignment. The enclitic can co-occur on the same host with the topic marker *=ga*, the interrogative *=ta*, the emphatic *=y*, and *=guti*. The meaning of the enclitic is difficult to gauge on the basis of the data in the corpus, especially since it is subject to inter-speaker variation. However, preliminary analysis suggests that *=ri* carries an emphatic meaning.

### **3.3.2.16 Morphosyntactic properties of clitics: a summary**

In the previous sections, I have discussed the basic morphosyntactic properties of the 15 word-final markers attested in TK. A picture that emerges from that discussion is that of a set of semantically heterogeneous markers, which do, however, share many morphosyntactic properties. Notably, only one of the 15 enclitics, namely the limitative *=lla* (see Section 3.3.2.11) was attested to occur on both phrasal heads and dependents. All the remaining markers can only grammatically occur on clausal heads, which is in line with what has been said about word-final markers in other Quechuan varieties (cf. Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010).

Although I discuss this issue in detail in Chapter 4, it is prudent to mention here that the clitics differ in scope depending on the type of host they attach to. The enclitics occurring on phrasal dependents only scope over their hosts; Enclitics occurring on phrasal heads scope over the entire relevant syntactic constituent.

In the section that follows, I provide some generalisations regarding the morphophonological and morphosyntactic properties of the TK word-final markers discussed in the previous fifteen sections. I show similarities and differences between them, and discuss the possibility of classifying them as clitics and/or discourse markers.

### **3.4 TK discourse enclitics: defining class membership**

The objective of this section is to propose a taxonomy of TK enclitics, and to single out the paradigm of TK ‘discourse enclitics’, i.e. enclitics which, from the functional point of view, can be classified as discourse markers. To this end, I discuss the data presented in Section 3.3 in the light of the definitional properties of enclitics (see Sections 3.2) and of discourse markers (see Section 3.1).

Before a taxonomy of TK enclitics can be proposed, we need to establish which of the markers discussed in Section 3.3 can be analysed as enclitics. Figure 3.5 (a repetition of Figure 3.3, see Section 3.2.2) contains the definitional properties of TK discourse enclitics:

#### **Figure 3.5 Properties of TK discourse enclitics**

- A. Promiscuous attachment/ low host selectivity
- B. Phonological and prosodic dependency on the host
- C. Little morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasy
- D. Being subject to few co-occurrence restrictions
- E. Position at the right edge of the word, in rigidly ordered clusters
- F. Expressing meanings related to discourse, rather than required by syntax

In the sections that follow, I discuss the markers presented in Section 3.3 with respects to each of the six properties listed above.

#### **3.4.1 A: Promiscuous attachment/ low host selectivity**

The first criterion of clitic-hood from Figure 3.5 requires the least discussion, as I have discussed it already in the introduction to Section 3.3. I mentioned that the

markers discussed in this chapter were selected on the basis of low host selectivity, i.e. on the condition that they occurred on hosts from at least two TK word classes. Therefore, it is not surprising that all the markers in the set fulfil this condition, albeit to varying extents. The possibilities of the markers to occur on different types of hosts, as attested in the corpus, are summarised in Table 3.17:

**Table 3.17 Distribution of TK enclitics with different types of hosts**

| Host type  | Noun   | Pronoun       | Attributive adjective | Verb/<br>Predicate | Adverb        | Particle |
|--|--------|---------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------|
| <b>Markers<br/>occurring<br/>on given<br/>type of host</b> | =ga    | <b>=ga</b>    |                       | =ga                | =ga           | =ga      |
|  | =mi    | =mi           |                       | <b>=mi</b>         | =mi           | =mi      |
|  | =ma    | =ma           |                       | <b>=ma</b>         | =ma           | =ma      |
|  | =mari  | =mari         |                       | <b>=mari</b>       |               |          |
|  | =tá    | =tá           |                       | <b>=tá</b>         |               | =tá      |
|  | =chu   | =chu          |                       | <b>=chu</b>        | =chu          | =chu     |
|  | =cha   | <b>=cha</b>   |                       | =cha               | =cha          | =cha     |
|  | =chari | <b>=chari</b> |                       | =chari             | =chari        |          |
|  | =ta    | <b>=ta</b>    |                       | =ta                |               | =ta      |
|  | =y     | <b>=y</b>     |                       | =y                 |               | =y       |
|  | =lla   | <b>=lla</b>   | =lla                  | =lla               | =lla          |          |
|  | =llara | =llara        |                       | =llara             | <b>=llara</b> | =llara   |
|  | =pas   | <b>=pas</b>   |                       | =pas               | =pas          |          |
|  | =guti  | =guti         |                       | <b>=guti</b>       | =guti         | =guti    |
|  | =ri    | =ri           |                       | <b>=ri</b>         | =ri           |          |

In Table 3.17, I show the co-occurrence of each of the enclitics with hosts belonging to the different TK word classes. The boldface indicates the hosts with which a given marker co-occurred most often in the corpus. Note that the table includes a category of ‘attributive adjective’. Since no adjectival phrase exists in TK, this category was singled out to show the enclitics which can occur on phrasal dependents. As for nouns and pronouns, each of the markers listed as occurring with any of those classes can occur both on NP and ProP arguments, and on nouns and pronouns functioning predicatively.

Table 3.17 demonstrates that all the markers discussed in this chapter behave like clitics in terms of promiscuous attachment.

### 3.4.2 B: Phonological and prosodic dependency on the host

That all tentative members of the set are phonologically dependent on a host follows from the fact that they meet criterion A: attach to phonologically independent hosts. However, the exact nature of their prosodic and phonological dependency on their hosts merits some discussion. As mentioned in Section 3.2.1, Spencer and Luís (2012: 84) observe that

[p]erhaps the most common property of clitics is that they (...) have no effect on the stress pattern of their hosts.

Nonetheless, full prosodic integration with a host is not considered in the literature as a definitional criterion for clitic-hood (cf. Anderson 2005; Spencer & Luis 2012: chap. 4). Spencer and Luís (2012: 84-5) propose a distinction between clitics which are stress-neutral, those that ‘fall outside the stress system’ and those that ‘fall within the stress domain’. Following their suggestion, I divide the TK word-final markers into three categories, which I discuss in turn below:

- (1) markers that have inherent stress,
- (2) markers that never affect stress, and
- (3) markers that optionally affect stress.

The classification which I present in the paragraphs below is based on the fact that in TK and other Quechuan languages lexical stress normally falls on the penultimate syllable (see Section 2.1.2.2). Consequently, word-final markers were considered to affect stress if their occurrence on the host resulted in the change of this pattern.

Out of all the markers considered in this chapter, only one, namely the verum focus marker =*tá*, carried inherent stress. As shown in Section 3.3.2.5, utterances of =*tá* were not considered felicitous if the marker was unstressed.

The group of markers which never affect stress has several members. First, let us discuss those which phonologically behave like suffixes, i.e. they fall within the stress domain of their hosts. Just two such markers were attested in the corpus,

namely the ‘expressive’ *=ri* and the ‘identity of reference’ *=llara*. I also include the limitative *=lla* into this category, despite the fact that in the data I examined, in 6 out of 77 cases where such evaluation was possible (see 3.3.2.11), it seemed not to affect stress assignment. While more research is needed, at this stage I hypothesise that these outlier examples were due to some other prosodic factors, not discussed here. The final marker which did not affect the stress pattern of its host was the emphatic *=y*. The marker *=y*, unlike the ones mentioned previously, is non-syllabic, but where it occurs, it incorporates into the coda of the word-final syllable. The occurrence of *=y*, as far as the data show, never results in the change of the penultimate lexical stress pattern. It should also be said that *=s*, the post-vocalic allomorph of the additive marker *=pas*, which also never affects stress assignment.

The last – and the largest – group of the word-final markers in TK are those that optionally affect the stress assignment of their hosts. The markers that belong to that group are: *=ga*, *=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=chu*, *=cha*, *=chari*, *=ta*, *=guti* and *=pas* (excluding its post-vocalic allomorph). Data from other Quechuan languages confirm that the word-final particles are ‘usually, though not obligatorily stressed’. For Imbabura Quechua, a highland Quechuan variety also spoken in Ecuador, variable participation in stress assignment is reported for *=ma*, *=mari*, *=cha* and *=chari*, glossed as ‘validators’ (cf. Cole 1982: 209).

The above analysis of the marker’s interaction with lexical stress relied, as mentioned previously, on auditory and pitch contour analyses. It is not currently possible to state which factors influence the varying behaviour of the markers with respect to the stress pattern on their hosts. This analysis also does not take into account prosodic processes on utterance level, such as the stress shift discussed briefly in Section 3.3.2.5 (see also Section 4.5.2), or possible effects of different types of suffixes on lexical stress assignment in TK (see Section 2.1.2.2). While detailed research into the prosody of TK falls outside the scope of this study, future studies on Tena Kichwa in general, and on the TK enclitics in particular, would benefit greatly from more fine-grained phonological and prosodic analysis.

Since all the markers discussed in this chapter are bound morphemes, they are all phonologically dependent on their hosts. However, only the emphatic *=y* behaves like a ‘prototypical enclitic’ in the sense that it always falls outside of the stress-

assignment domain of its hosts. Nonetheless, since non-participation in stress assignment is not a definitional criterion of clitic-hood, none of the markers should be excluded from the class on the basis of its morphophonological properties.

### 3.4.3 Little morphophonological and semantic idiosyncrasy

As mentioned previously, ‘morphophonological idiosyncrasies’ are irregular changes in the phonological form, which cannot be predicted from regular phonological processes affecting other words or groups of words. Zwicky and Pullum (1983) predict that such irregularities are encountered more often in combination of stems and affixes than in those of clitic hosts and clitics, and this observation seems to apply to TK word-final markers. While several of them have a set of allomorphs, the sound changes which condition the occurrence of allomorphs are regular, rather than idiosyncratic, e.g. voiceless postalveolar affricate [tʃ] surfacing as voiced postalveolar affricate [dʒ] after nasals.

The lack of ‘semantic idiosyncrasies’ means that clitics should have a single meaning across contexts (cf. Spencer & Luis 2012: 109-10). Most of the markers discussed in this chapter do have clearly defined meanings, e.g. the marker =*ga* associated with topicality, NEG/Q =*chu*, additive =*pas*, verum focus-associated =*tá*, interrogative =*ta*, and the ‘identity of reference’ =*llara*. The meaning of the limitative =*lla* is, to some extent, idiosyncratic, ranging between unique reference, an adverbial meaning (‘exactly/precisely/just’) and a diminutive meaning, while none of them associated the occurrence of =*lla* in a particular grammatical context. However, it has also been mentioned that =*lla* behaves morphophonologically more like a suffix than a clitic. The semantic idiosyncrasy it exhibits makes it even more suffix-like.

The meanings of other markers might seem prone to idiosyncrasies, based on the preliminary semantic description provided in this chapter. The aim of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of this thesis is to provide a detailed account of the meaning of a subset of the markers discussed here. In these chapters, I show that information structural and epistemic meanings attributed to some of the markers can be accounted for in a uniform manner; To arrive at such uniform analysis, dimensions of meaning such as epistemicity and intersubjectivity are taken into account.

Consequently, it can be concluded that, apart from the mesoclititic *=lla*, none of the markers exhibits morphophonological or semantic idiosyncrasies.

#### 3.4.4 Being subject to few co-occurrence restrictions

This criterion demands that the ‘gaps in the set of possible combinations’ (Zwicky & Pullum 1983) be more common with affixes than with clitics. I discuss the possible combinations of clitics with one another in Section 3.4.5. Here, I focus on the co-occurrence restrictions with inflectional morphology and syntactic structures.

The co-occurrence restrictions of enclitics were discussed in previous literature for other Quechuan varieties, e.g. Imbabura Quechua, spoken in the Ecuadorian Highlands (QII, Cole 1982: 163–72). Cole divided the Imbabura enclitics into several subgroups. He observed that most co-occurrence restrictions apply to ‘validators’, (*=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=cha* and *=chari*) which, in Imbabura (1) can be used with any part of speech, (2) appear to the right of derivational and inflectional suffixes, but (3) are limited to constituents of main clauses, and (4) can only occur once per sentence. Other enclitics he lists, including the topic marker *=ka* and the additive clitic *=pash*, only abide by the first two criteria. He also mentions that ‘validator’ enclitics do not occur with NPs modifiers, including attributive adjectives.

Some, but not all, of the properties listed by Cole (1982) apply to the TK enclitics. As evident from the discussion in the previous section, and from the Table 3.18, most of the TK enclitics can occur on any part of speech. When the restrictions exist, they apply to the occurrence of the markers on phrasal heads and dependent. As shown in the descriptions of the markers in Section 3.3, most of the TK enclitics are restricted to occur on phrasal heads. One exception in this regard is *=lla*, which was the only marker in the data that could occur on attributive adjectives.

As for the other criteria proposed by Cole, none of the TK enclitics is restricted to main clauses – all markers co-occurred with finite verbs and were, at least in several instances, attested with non-finite verbs occurring in subordinate clauses. Lastly, most, but not all TK enclitics are restricted to occurring just once in a sentence. As far as the data show, this restriction does not apply to *=ga* and *=chari*. Issues related multiple occurrences of clitics per clause are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.



In sum, all the markers discussed in this section show few, if any, co-occurrence restrictions in terms of occurrence on different parts of speech, or with nominal and verbal derivational and inflectional morphology. In the next section, I discuss the co-occurrence restrictions of TK clitics with one another.

### 3.4.5 Position at the right edge of the word, in rigidly ordered clusters

According to this criterion, in order to be classified as an enclitic, a marker needs to occur on the right edge of its host. This is true for all the markers described in this chapter, with the exception of the mesoclitic *=lla* (3.3.2.11), and, to some extent the marker *=llara* (3.3.2.12). The classification of *=llara* as an enclitic is problematic, since it was also attested to attach to the left of the accusative case suffix. All the other markers attach, without exceptions, outside all inflectional and derivational morphology.

All the markers, however, occur in rigidly ordered clusters. Table 3.18 shows how they are ordered with respect to one another, also taking their co-occurrence restrictions into account.

**Table 3.18 Ordering of TK enclitics**

|   |      |        |     |       |  |
|---|------|--------|-----|-------|--|
| <div><div>=llara</div><div>=ri</div><div>=lla</div></div> | =pas | =ga    | =ri |       |  |
|   |      | =mi    |     |       |  |
|   |      | =ma    |     |       |  |
|   |      | =mari  |     |       |  |
|   |      | =cha   | =y  |       |  |
|   |      | =chu   |     | =guti |  |
| =lla  |      | =tá    |     |       |  |
|   |      | =ta    | =y  | =ri   |  |
|   |      | =chari |     |       |  |

Table 3.18 contains a schematic representation of the co-occurrences of TK enclitics attested in the corpus. The columns from left to right represent the markers attaching closer (left) and further (right) from the boundary of the host word. Unless otherwise stated – as in the case of *=llara*, which was not attested to co-occur with *=ri* – all the markers in the same row can co-occur with one another, although they were not all necessarily attested to have all co-occurred on the same host at the same time.

It has to be kept in mind that not all the co-occurrence possibilities were tested in elicitation and it is therefore possible that the co-occurrence of some markers which did not occur on the same host in the corpus is grammatically possible.

It is evident from Table 3.18 that the markers in the middle column form a clear distributional paradigm. For all of these markers, it was checked in elicitation that they cannot grammatically co-occur on the same host. It is also this group of markers that the remainder of this thesis is concerned with. They not only form a morphosyntactic paradigm, but also share certain aspects of their meaning, related to information structure and distribution of knowledge between participants of discourse (see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, respectively).

### **3.4.6 Expressing discourse-related meanings**

This final criterion does not have to do with establishing whether the marker in question is a clitic from the morphosyntactic point of view. Rather, it allows distinguishing clitics that can be described as discourse markers from those that cannot. I discussed the notion of discourse markers in Section 0, where I also introduced the distinction between discourse markers and discourse connectives. For the purposes of this thesis, discourse markers were defined as non-truth conditional elements which increase cohesion and coherence of discourse (see Section 1.3.2). Discourse connectives achieve that effect by linking discourse segments to one another, but cohesion of discourse can also be increased by other means. In Section 0, I mentioned ‘interpersonal discourse markers’, which facilitate interpretation of discourse via indexing and negotiating roles of discourse participants. I consider most of the TK enclitics to belong to this class of discourse markers.

Let us consider Table 3.18 again. As mentioned above, it is divided into three columns. The markers in the middle column never co-occur with one another, and therefore constitute a distributionally coherent paradigm. Moreover, these nine markers all have meanings which, rather than being truth-conditional, are related to information management in discourse. It was mentioned before that their meaning is related to Information Structure. I discuss their IS functions in more detail in Chapter 4. In Chapter 5, I show that some of these markers also have an epistemic meaning. Therefore, I postulate that the markers *=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=cha*, *=chu*, *=chari*, *=tá* and *=ta* should be considered ‘epistemic/interpersonal’ discourse enclitics which form a notionally and distributionally coherent paradigm. They occupy the same position within clitic clusters, are restricted to occurrence on clausal heads, and optionally affect the stress assignment of their hosts.

Two additional markers described in this chapter, namely *=pas* and *=guti*, could also be classified as discourse cohesive devices. However, according to the definitions introduced in Section 3.1, the additive *=pas* is a ‘discourse connective’, rather than a ‘discourse marker’. Moreover, although it can link discourse segments above the clausal level, it is also often used to connect constituents within the same clause (see Section 2.5.3.1). Therefore, its function is ambiguous between a ‘textual’ and ‘discourse’ connective (cf. e.g. Traugott 2010; Degand 2016).

As for *=guti*, it was also tentatively analysed as a discourse connective, although not enough data is available at present to establish the precise nature of its meaning. While future research is needed to provide a detailed account of *=guti*, it can be excluded from the paradigm discussed in this thesis on distributional grounds.

The final two enclitics are *=ri* and *=y*, which I have analysed as ‘expressive’ and ‘non-declarative interrogative’. While these two markers make a non-truth conditional contribution to the meaning of the utterance, they operate locally – indicating the emotional involvement or assessment of the proposition by the speaker – rather than on a discourse level.

In the literature, ‘prototypical’ discourse markers have been argued to occur sentence-initially (e.g. Schiffrin 1987), the TK discourse enclitics could be considered ‘non-prototypical’ discourse markers, i.e. markers which do not ‘fulfil the

structural requirement of being sentence initial’ (Maschler & Schiffrin 2015: 200). Morphosyntactically, the TK discourse enclitics might not fit the definition of a prototypical discourse marker. Nonetheless, as I show in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, their semantics, and function in discourse are very much in line with a range of discourse-cohesive meanings which are, cross-linguistically, the domain of discourse markers.

### 3.4.7 Summary: TK class of discourse enclitics

In the previous sections, I have discussed the properties of TK word-final markers, and checked how they align with the definitional properties of clitics. A summary of this discussion is presented in Table 3.19:

**Table 3.19 Properties of TK enclitics**

|              | Promiscuous attachment | Phonological dependency | Little idiosyncrasy | Few restrictions | Position at the right edge | Discourse -related meaning |
|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| <b>ga</b>    | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>mi</b>    | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>ma</b>    | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>mari</b>  | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>tá</b>    | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>chu</b>   | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>cha</b>   | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| <b>chari</b> | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| y            | X                      | X                       | X                   | X                | X                          |                            |
| <b>ta</b>    | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          | X                          |
| lla          | X                      |                         |                     | X                |                            |                            |
| llara        | X                      |                         | X                   | X                |                            |                            |
| pas          | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          |                            |
| guti         | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          |                            |
| ri           | X                      |                         | X                   | X                | X                          |                            |

The columns of the table represent the six properties of enclitics discussed in the previous sections. Each row corresponds to one of the markers. The relevant field is marked with ‘X’ only if the marker can be characterised by a given property in all its occurrences. Note that the final property: ‘expressing discourse-related meanings’ is semantic, rather than morphosyntactic, and can be used to delimit a particular subclass of enclitics. The enclitics which I analyse as encoding discourse-related meanings, and forming a coherent paradigm, are shown in bold in the table.

Table 3.19 clearly shows that the markers discussed in this chapter form a scale, from those with most clitic-like properties – like *=y* (‘non-declarative emphatic’), which meets all the morphosyntactic criteria – to those which show more suffix-like properties, like the limitative mesoclitic *=lla*. This shows that in TK, there is no binary distinction between clitics and suffixes – rather, the different markers discussed above could be placed along a continuum. On the basis of the above, it seems that the only marker which could not be classified as an enclitic is the limitative mesoclitic *=lla*. The ‘identity of reference’ marker *=llara*, diachronically most likely related to *=lla*, is ambiguous between an enclitic and a mesoclitic. All the other markers can be classified as enclitics, although most of them, unlike ‘prototypical’ clitics, do not fall outside the domain of stress assignment of their hosts.

Table 3.19 also shows that the markers which I analyse as ‘discourse enclitics’, (shown in bold) are uniform with respect to the clitic-like properties they exhibit. This strengthens the previously presented idea that they form a coherent morphosyntactic paradigm. The chapters that follow focus on this paradigm of epistemic/interpersonal discourse enclitics.

## **Chapter 4      Discourse markers and information structure in Tena Kichwa**

In Chapter 3, I have described the morphosyntactic properties of TK enclitics, and singled out the paradigm of ‘discourse enclitics’. This chapter explores the role of discourse enclitics in marking information structural categories in TK. Firstly, I define the relevant notions, and outline the methodology used in this study (4.1). Subsequently, I discuss the previous studies of Quechuan information structure (4.2) and the syntactic means of marking information structural categories in TK (4.3). Subsequently, I proceed to the core part of this chapter, discussing the role of TK interaction of discourse enclitics with information structural categories of topic (4.4), and focus (4.5). Finally, I provide a brief summary of the chapter (4.6).

### **4.1 Definitions and methodology**

In this section, I define the basic notions pertinent to the cross-linguistic study of information structure (4.1.1), and the methodology I used to investigate how the IS notions are syntactically and morphologically marked in the TK (4.1.2).

#### **4.1.1 Definitions**

In this section, I first define the notion of Information Structure as it is used in this thesis and briefly discuss the theoretical basis for this chosen definition. Subsequently, I discuss the categories relevant to the description of the information structure of TK.

Information structure (henceforth IS) is a component of sentence organisation, dedicated to the pragmatic structuring of propositions. Cross-linguistically, IS can be marked via syntax, morphology or prosody. Irrespective of how it is marked, the objective of IS is to facilitate information exchange, in order to satisfy the immediate communicative needs of interlocutors (cf. e.g. Chafe 1976; Prince 1981; Lambrecht 1994; Féry & Krifka 2008; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). The different theories of grammar vary in terms of the role they assign to IS, and in how they see its place within the structure of the language (see e.g. Erteschik-Shir 2007 for an overview).

In this thesis, I understand IS as an element of sentence grammar which delivers pragmatically marked propositions, resulting from the speaker's assumptions about the knowledge state of the addressee (Lambrecht 1994). This approach to IS is in line with understanding it as a phenomenon of 'information packaging' which responds to immediate communicative needs of interlocutors (cf. Chafe 1976).

Communicative needs cannot be defined or attended to, however, unless discourse participants know what information they already share. Therefore, at the core of IS as understood in this thesis is the concept of common ground (cf. Krifka 2007; Féry & Krifka 2008). Common ground (henceforth CG) consists of information which is mutually known to be shared by the discourse participants (cf. Stalnaker 1974). This information includes discourse referents interlocutors are familiar with, and 'a set of propositions which the participants in the conversation mutually agree to treat as true for the purpose of the exchange' (Stalnaker & Cole 1978). CG constantly develops over the course of communication, and Krifka (2007) points out that two aspects of CG are relevant to communication: CG content, which includes all the truth-conditional information within the CG, and CG management, which indicates the way in which CG content should develop. Both CG content and CG management are shared between discourse participants. The aspects of IS that have truth-conditional impact can be associated with CG content, and those relating to the 'pragmatic use of expressions' – with CG management (Krifka 2007: 18). Over the course of this chapter, I show that TK discourse enclitics contribute to CG management, rather than to CG content.

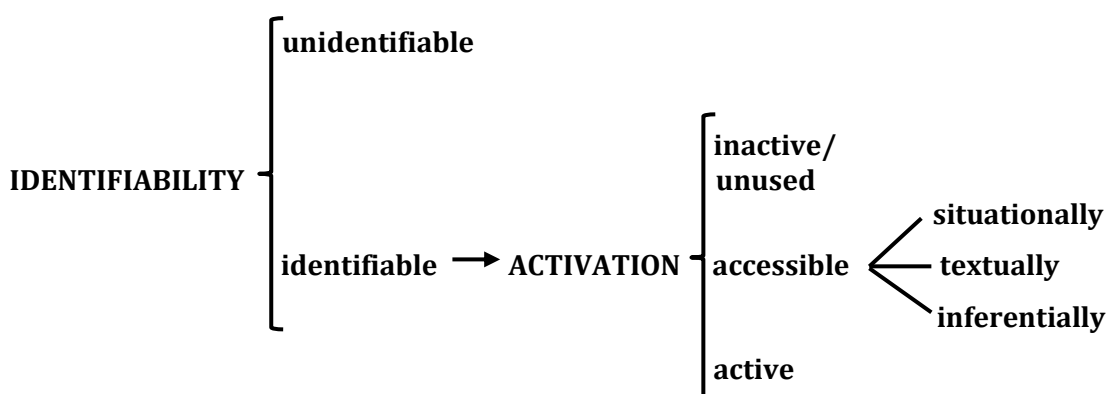
As mentioned above, in order to communicate effectively, speakers need to make assumptions about the mental states of their addressees. There are two types of such IS-relevant assumptions: (1) assumptions about the representation of discourse referents in the mind of the addressee, and (2) assumptions about the addressee's state of knowledge (cf. Prince 1981; Lambrecht 1994).

The representation of discourse referents in the mind of the addressee can be described in terms of at least two cognitive statuses (cf. Chafe 1976): (i) identifiability and (ii) activation (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994: ch. 3). Identifiability relates to the speaker's assumptions about whether a representation of a referent is stored in the hearer's mind (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 76). Identifiable referents are those

of which both the speaker and addressee have a mental representation at the time of utterance. Non-identifiable referents are those for which the representation only exists in the mind of the speaker and has to be created in the mind of the addressee by means of the speaker's utterance.

The other cognitive status, activation, distinguishes between those identifiable referents which, according to the speaker, are in the addressee's current focus of consciousness, and those that are not (cf. Prince 1981; Chafe 1987; 1994; Lambrecht 1994). If a referent is in the addressee's focus of consciousness, it is active. Otherwise, it is 'inactive' (Lambrecht 1994) or 'unused' (Prince 1981). In an intermediate situation, the referent is 'semi-active'/'accessible' (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 93-4). Referents can become accessible in a number of ways. A 'textually accessible' referent is one that has been mentioned in previous discourse and has subsequently lost its central status. 'Situationally accessible' referents are present in the text-external world (Lambrecht 1994: 100). Lastly, 'inferential accessibility' is related to cognitive schema, or 'frames': stereotypes, or systems of related concepts which facilitate inference processes by allowing to assume the existence of certain entities (Prince 1981; Fillmore 1982; Chafe 1994). For instance, a cognitive frame of 'going to a restaurant' activates concepts such as 'waiter' or 'bill', and makes other concepts, such as 'mango lassi' or 'Caesar salad' accessible. Figure 4.1 summarises the distinctions pertinent to identifiability and activation discussed above.

**Figure 4.1 Cognitive states of identifiability and activation**



Adapted from Lambrecht (1994: 109) and Prince (1981)



The second type of IS-relevant speaker assumptions are those concerning the hearer's state of knowledge. Discussing them requires introducing the notions of pragmatic presupposition and pragmatic assertion. Pragmatic presupposition is a set of propositions that the speaker assumes the addressee already knows at the time of utterance (cf. Kempson 1975). By contrast, pragmatic assertion can be equated with 'new' content, such that the speaker assumes the addressee will come to know it as a result of the speaker's current utterance (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 52).<sup>35</sup> In both cases, 'knowing' a proposition is tantamount to having a mental representation of it, rather than being able to judge it true or false.

Discussing only presupposed concepts does not make for effective communication, since 'a narrative that fails to conflict with expectations is no narrative at all' (Chafe 1994: 122). However, there are cognitive constraints on how much new information can be conveyed at a time. According to the 'one new idea constraint' (Chafe 1987; 1994), for processing reasons, every clause in connected discourse can contain only one concept which falls under the scope of assertion: the focus of the clause. Clauses also contain presupposed content, and within it, an expression denoting a referent which the clause is 'about' (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 127). In IS terms, this referent is the topic of the clause. Both topic and focus are relational notions. That is, no referent is inherently focal or topical. Rather, the topic or focus relation arises between discourse referents or concepts on the one hand, and propositions on the other as a result of the speaker's strategy of CG management. Topic referents exist in the text-external world, irrespective of whether the linguistic expressions which designate them are specially marked, or even present in discourse (cf. e.g. Krifka 2007).<sup>36</sup> Therefore, it is important to distinguish between topic (and focus) expressions in discourse and their designata in the text-external world. In what follows, by using the terms 'topic' and 'focus', I refer not to the linguistic expressions of the two categories, but to the objects or concepts they designate.

As mentioned above, topic can be broadly defined as the referent the proposition is about (cf. e.g. Reinhardt 1982; Lambrecht 1994: 188 and references therein; Krifka 2008). The aboutness relation holds between the referent and the proposition when

---

<sup>35</sup> Notice that in this usage the term 'assertion' is synonymous with 'statement', rather than meant to refer to the assertive speech act (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 55).

<sup>36</sup> In case of the designata of focal expressions, the case is more complex, since focus expressions can designate not only entities, but also concepts and propositions.

‘the referent is assumed by the speaker to be a centre of current interest, about which the assertion is made’ (Nikolaeva 2001: 4-5; cf. Kiss 1998: 9). It follows that topic is part of the pragmatic presupposition, sufficiently salient to be considered the centre of attention by both interlocutors. An important property of topic expressions is that they are referential, so that propositions about them can be evaluated as true or false (e.g. Lambrecht 1994).

‘Aboutness’ topics can be divided into different sub-categories, e.g. (1) aboutness-shift topics, which introduce a new discourse topic, replacing the previous ones (2) contrastive topics and (3) familiar topics (Frascarelli 2007:693). Sánchez (2010) used these categories to describe topic marking in Cuzco Quechua. They are also relevant to the description of TK. In Section 4.4 I show that in TK topics of type (1) and (2) are much more likely to be marked morphologically than familiar topics.

Contrastive topic expressions occur when an issue under discussion is too complex to be resolved by bringing up one single topic (Krifka 1999; Féry & Krifka 2008: 129). They are topical, because they refer to an entity about which further information is required, and contrastive, because they come with alternatives – information is needed about more than one topical referent (cf. Krifka 1999: 114). The function of a contrastive topic is to indicate that the answer is partial (Krifka 1999: 121).<sup>37</sup>

Another type of topic expressions are ‘frames’ or ‘clause external topics’ (cf. Chafe 1976; Li & Thompson 1976): expressions setting a ‘spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds’. Cross-linguistically, these expressions often correspond to adverbials (Nikolaeva 2001: 11). In TK, the most common frame-setting expressions are locative pronouns, but adverbials – especially time adverbials – also function as frame-setters (see Section 4.4).

The second major category of IS is focus. Unlike topic, focus does not fall under the scope of pragmatic presupposition. It is not pragmatically recoverable from prior discourse (Lambrecht 1994: 207). Focus is what makes the utterance increase the knowledge of the addressee, by conveying content which is ‘informative, or contrary to expectation’ (Engdahl & Vallduví 1996). Nonetheless, the function of focus

---

<sup>37</sup> In referring to topics as ‘contrastive’ I assume that contrast is an IS category separate from, and orthogonal to, topic and focus. The nature of contrast has been a contentious issue in the scholarship on IS, and I discuss it in more detail towards the end of this section.

cannot be reduced to introducing new discourse referents. Unlike topic expressions, focus expressions need not be referential. Depending on the part of the utterance falling under the scope of focus, different focus structures can be distinguished: argument focus, predicate focus and sentence focus. In case of argument focus, the scope of focus is narrow: it only corresponds to the constituent denoting the focal referent, while the rest of the utterance is pragmatically presupposed. In predicate focus constructions, the entire predicate (which most often, but not necessarily, corresponds to the VP) is in the scope of focus, and the subject of the clause is topical. Sentence focus structures, also called ‘thetic sentences’ or ‘out-of-the-blue’ sentences, are topicless – the entire sentence is under the scope of focus (Lambrecht 1994: ch. 4). These three types of structures are discussed in turn below.

Predicate and argument foci allow for different roles of activated referents within the focus domain. When expressions denoting active referents occur in a predicate focus structure, they are never the only element there, as that would render the utterance uninformative. Apart from a given element, the focus domain must also contain the predicate, and, optionally, a brand new/inactive NP (cf. Nikolaeva 2001: 9):

(4.1)

- |    |       |  |
|----|-------|--|
| a. | She   | talked to him                              |
|    | TOPIC | PREDICATE FOCUS (predicate + given PP)     |
| b. | She   | met an ugly old man                        |
|    | TOPIC | PREDICATE FOCUS (predicate + brand new NP) |

Nikolaeva 2001: 9

In argument focus structure, the denotatum of the focused constituent can be either active or inactive. However, focus on an active referent is likely to receive a contrastive interpretation (cf. e.g. Kiss 1998). Consider the following examples:

(4.2)

- A: Where did you go last night?  
 B: We went **to the restaurant**.

(4.3)

A: Where did you go last night, to the movies or to the restaurant?

B: We went **to the restaurant** [not to the movies].

based on Lambrecht (1994: 211)

In (4.2), the constituent ‘to the restaurant’ is an information focus – it is new in discourse and contributes the information requested in the interlocutor’s question. In B’s utterance in (4.3), the same constituent functions as contrastive focus expression. It is active, having been introduced into discourse by A, and it stands in opposition to an overt alternative ‘to the movies’. These two properties: having a set of identifiable alternatives (cf. Kiss 1998; Repp 2010) and implying the rejection of those alternatives (Repp 2010: 1336) are the key properties of contrastive foci.

The third type of focus structure mentioned above is sentence focus (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994: ch. 5):

(4.4)

A: What happened?

B: **Grandpa died.**

As mentioned above, in sentence focus structures, the pragmatic presupposition is non-existent. This is shown in the utterance B in (4.4), where the whole sentence corresponds to pragmatic assertion and is within the scope of focus. This type of focus structure often occurs discourse-initially, when no information is presupposed.

Another type of focus structure relevant to the description of IS in TK is ‘verum focus’, i.e. focus on the truth value of the proposition (cf. Höhle 1992). The nature the *verum* operator was defined in different ways in the literature, but the discussion of those different analyses is beyond the scope of this study (see Lohnstein 2016 for overview). Here, I focus on the properties of verum foci relevant to the description of the TK verum focus marker =*tá* (see Section 4.5.2). Verum-focused clauses are the opposite of all-new clauses, since the only new part of the clause is the focus on its assertive component (Büring 2006, cited in Lohnstein 2016: 297):

(4.5)

A: Did you go to the movies last night?

B: We **did** go.

It follows that verum-focused clauses are not felicitous in discourse-initial utterances (Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró 2011: 160; Lohnstein 2016: 303-4). However, Gutzmann and Castroviejo Miró (2011: 160) also show that the propositional content of a verum focus clause must have been textually, rather than situationally evoked. From that, they conclude that the semantics of verum focus is to resolve a question under discussion (QUD) corresponding to the verum-focused proposition. In Section 4.5.2, I show that this definition can be applied to verum focus constructions in TK.

Not all content of pragmatically structured propositions can be subsumed under the notions of topic or focus. Two more categories, ‘background’ and ‘completive’, have been suggested in the literature (Butt & Holloway King 2000; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011). ‘Background’ consists of presupposed content, specifying details necessary for a complete understanding of focused information (Butt & Holloway King 2000). ‘Completive’, on the other hand, covers content new to the addressee, but, unlike focus, not associated with the difference between the pragmatic assertion and pragmatic presupposition (Butt & Holloway King 2000). Consider the following example given by Butt and Holloway King (2000):

(4.6)

A: What is Bill eating?

B: He is eating pizza in the kitchen.

TOPIC BACKGROUND FOCUS COMPLETIVE

The VP ‘is eating pizza’ consists of the focal NP ‘pizza’, and the verb, which is not topical, but provides the background necessary for complete understanding of the proposition. The completive PP ‘in the kitchen’ is not presupposed, but also does not directly contribute to enhancing the addressee’s knowledge of the topic referent.

Another IS notion which is an object of considerable attention – and controversy – is contrast (cf. e.g. Molnár 2006; Zimmermann 2008; Repp 2010) or ‘kontrast’ (e.g. Vallduví & Vilkuña 1998). In the IS literature, ‘contrast’ has acquired several

divergent meanings. Some authors use this notion to refer to a subtype of focus (cf. e.g. Gundel 1999; Cohan 2001). Others use the same term in a different sense, as a category orthogonal to the topic-focus articulation (Lambrecht 1994; Vallduví & Vilkkuna 1998; Nikolaeva 2001: 8 and references therein). The latter view is better suited for the description of the information structure of TK, where both contrastive foci and contrastive topics are attested. In what follows, contrast is treated as a separate notion of information structure, and the feature of contrastiveness - as a 'discourse-semantic phenomenon with grammatical reflexes' (Zimmermann 2008: 348), which can be superimposed on the topic-focus articulation (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994: 286-295; Krifka 2007). A unified definition of contrast encompasses two aspects of its meaning. Firstly, contrast always operates on alternatives, whereas the character of the set of alternatives (open vs closed) and the presence of alternatives in the linguistic and situational context are of secondary importance. Secondly, contrast is always connected to highlighting (Molnár 2006: 212-3). This broad definition allows for reconciling the notion of contrast with contrastive foci, contrastive topics, parallel structures, or corrections, despite the fact that these phenomena differ e.g. in terms of rejection of alternatives and exhaustive identification (Repp 2010: 1335). In Sections 4.4 and 4.5, I show that in TK, the presence of contrast triggers morphological marking of both topic and focus.

Before I proceed to the discussion of methods used in this study, a short discussion of the scope of the TK discourse enclitics is in order. In Chapter 3, I have identified the types of hosts with which each marker can co-occur, and I have shown that the enclitics only occur on phrasal heads. Consequently, the enclitics take scope over the whole phrase of the head to which they attach. Thus, on NPs and AdvPs, which function as core or oblique arguments of the clause, the enclitics trigger narrow focus/topic interpretations – that is, they only scope over the phrase on the head of which they occur. When occurring on non-verbal predicates, as well as on tensed verbs, they trigger wide scope, which mostly corresponds to the predicate (cf. Sánchez 2010: 62-4), but in some contexts can also be sentential. When occurring on subordinate verbs, the enclitics' scope is over the whole subordinate clause headed by that verb.

#### **4.1.2 Methodology of studying TK information structure**

In this section, I discuss the methodological issues related to studying IS in under-described languages like TK. Firstly, I focus on the methods, tools and stimuli I used for the purpose of the present study (4.1.2.1). Secondly, I discuss the challenges encountered in this fieldwork-based study of IS, especially those related to using tools and stimuli which were not designed specifically for a given field-setting (4.1.2.2).

##### **4.1.2.1 Tools adopted in the current study**

In her seminal text on the methodology of semantic fieldwork, Matthewson (2004) states that while naturalistic discourse is an extremely valuable source of linguistic data, in semantic fieldwork it needs to be coupled with different types of structured elicitation. The same could be said with regard to fieldwork on IS. As discussed in Section 1.3.4.2, the main problems with basing one's analytical claims exclusively on naturalistic discourse are (1) the impossibility of obtaining negative evidence and (2) the fact that naturalistic texts are unlikely to contain data about all the relevant phenomena, especially in the study of semantics, pragmatics or information structure (cf. Matthewson 2004: 377).

In studying 'context sensitive phenomena, such as presupposition' (Matthewson 2004: 395), establishing the communicative context appropriate for a given utterance is extremely important. Information Structure also is a 'context sensitive phenomenon', best studied on the basis of coherent and cohesive texts (see Section 1.3.2) larger than a sentence. While naturalistic discourse is an obvious source of such texts, using it as the sole source of data is even more problematic in case of IS research than in case of semantic fieldwork. While relational notions such as topic or focus may be constrained or influenced by the discourse context, they are not uniquely determined by it. The speaker's intentions with regard to topic-focus articulations of their utterance are not necessarily determined only by context (Gundel & Fretheim 2004: 177). They can also be influenced by e.g. the speaker's interests, perspective on the information conveyed, or previous experience. In this respect, the relational notions of focus and topic are more subjective than notions of activation or identifiability, which are uniquely determined by the context. Therefore, whether or not to present information as focal/topical is ultimately a decision made

by the speaker, depending on the subjective perspective they choose to adopt. Consequently, studying the linguistic context of an utterance without an insight into the speaker's motivations and mental states will only deliver partial results regarding the possible topic-focus articulations.

Given this possible indeterminacy of IS categories, it is particularly important to be able to elicit texts where the content and development of CG, as well as the intentions of the interlocutors, can be monitored by the researcher. The same holds for researching other categories related to 'social cognition' (San Roque et al. 2012), e.g. evidentiality or epistemic meaning (see Section 5.1). Picture- or video-based stimuli designed for other purposes, e.g. the Pear Story (Chafe 1980) used in this thesis, the 'Frog Story' (Mayer & Mayer 1992) used e.g. by Sánchez (2015), illustrations for traditional tales (cf. Muntendam 2015), or games (cf. Silva & AnderBois 2016) can be used to ensure the possibility of knowledge-tracking. Stimuli can also be developed specifically for that purpose. Skopeteas et al. (2006) have developed a set of stimuli designed specifically for research on IS, which I have adapted and used in my fieldwork.

The Questionnaire on Information Structure (QUIS, Skopeteas et al. 2006) is a complete manual comprising translation tasks and picture- and video-based stimuli, meant to elicit comprehensive data related to the expressions of information structure. In my case, an important motivation for choosing to use QUIS was that it elicits a range of different speech types, and that the decision as to what will be said is ultimately left mostly to the speaker (cf. San Roque et al. 2012: 137). It also contains what Lüpke (2009) calls 'interactive stimuli', i.e. stimuli which elicit dialogue, including map tasks, problem-solving tasks, or tasks consisting in ordering pictures into a narrative sequence (cf. San Roque et al. 2012).

The 'interactive stimuli' are of particular importance for the description and analysis of discourse enclitics, the use of which is sensitive to a range of contextual factors. Moreover, as already mentioned in Chapter 3, the TK discourse enclitics are grammatically obligatory in few, if any contexts. Consequently, in studying them, translation-based elicitation needs to be complemented with more interactive elicitation tasks. The fact that certain markers or constructions occur in connected



discourse warrants their felicity in the context in which they are used (cf. Matthewson 2004). The reverse, however, is not true: the fact that discourse markers do not occur in certain texts does not entail it would not be felicitous for them to occur. Therefore, a range of elicitation tasks is needed to thoroughly investigate the discourse markers.

The QUIS set consists of elicitation tasks and 29 experimental tasks focusing on the different aspects of IS. A manual is provided to describe the goals of each task, and details of how the stimuli should be administered. The authors of the Questionnaire have divided the tasks into four sessions for a single informant, and four sessions for two informants. The tasks are randomised and repeated in different orders throughout the sessions (cf. Skopeteas et al. 2006). Out of the 29 tasks in the manual, I have selected 18, on the basis of two factors. Firstly, I have chosen the tasks aimed at investigating the distinction between given and new information, focus, contrast, and topicality. Secondly, I decided not to use the tasks which required familiarity with complex interpretative conventions (see Section 4.1.2.2 for discussion).

The pictures for most of the tasks I chose were adapted to my fieldwork context in collaboration with an illustrator, Irene Rus. The pictures were re-drawn to better depict the reality of the speakers of Tena Kichwa: characters, objects and activities presented in the pictures were changed to fit the Amazonian reality (for examples, see Image 4.1, Image 4.2 and Image 4.3 in Section 4.4). The QUIS elicitation allowed me to gain insight into syntactic marking of IS (4.3), as well as the distribution of the enclitic =*ga* (4.4). However, it only contained few instances of the focus-marking enclitics (4.5), so their description is based mostly on other translation/elicitation tasks contained in the corpus, and on naturalistic discourse.

The QUIS tasks were carried out with two consultants, a male and a female, aged 28 and 18, respectively. They were both native speakers of TK, and used the language at home to varying extents. Moreover, they were both bilingual in Spanish. The male consultant acquired the Spanish at school, while in the case of the female consultant, it was one of the languages she used at home as well as at school. Four individual sessions were carried out with each consultant, and they both participated in four two-participant sessions, which amounted to nearly 5h 30mins of elicitation, comprising 919 transcribed utterances tagged for the presence of discourse enclitics.

I am aware that having run the experiments with two participants does not allow for robust generalisations. Therefore, my analyses of the data obtained through elicitation and ‘interactive stimuli’ are always juxtaposed with language use attested in naturalistic discourse data to avoid hasty conclusions. The different patterns attested in the different types of data are also commented on. In the next section, I discuss problems I have encountered while carrying out the stimuli-based investigation of the information structure of TK.

#### **4.1.2.2 Methodological issues in fieldwork-based research of IS**

In this section, I concentrate on the issues that arise in the elicitation- and stimuli-based research on IS in a fieldwork setting, on the basis of my experience of working on TK. This discussion is warranted by the fact that most of the studies which report having used stimuli for elicitation of specific phenomena tend to only report the experiments and elicitation tasks that were successful.<sup>38</sup> Nonetheless, there is a lot to learn from the pitfalls of the elicitation and experimental tasks performed by other researchers.

First, let us focus on the mismatches between certain experimental designs and the possibilities of carrying them out in the field. The authors of stimuli sets (e.g. Evans et al. 2004; Skopeteas et al. 2006) often assume that the researcher should have access to a large pool of naïve native speakers of the target language, who nonetheless have had enough formal education to be able to engage with quite sophisticated interpretative conventions.

The problems posed by the assumption that certain interpretative conventions are shared cross-culturally is perhaps most acute with video stimuli. In case of Evans et al. (2004), for instance, the video stimuli presented the viewer with acted-out situations, which were not taken at face value even by the actors participating in them. The authors of these videos have taken for granted that the viewers will be able to treat the recorded content as abstract, and to apply it to real-life situations they have experienced, such as lice-picking. In my fieldwork experience, these assumptions have failed completely. The stimuli still proved useful to elicit a reasonably spontaneous conversation, but the topic of it was trying to guess what

---

<sup>38</sup> I am thankful to Lauren Gawne (p.c., 7 Dec 2015) for suggesting it is also important to write about failures and misfires of elicitation and experimental research.

kind of ‘games’ the actors were playing and why. In certain videos from the QUIS set (Skopeteas et al. 2006), e.g. one taking place in a bar, the intentions and behaviour of the protagonists were also hardly interpretable without the knowledge of certain cultural norms related to dating and going out, which differ greatly between European university towns and rural Ecuador.

In my experience, the experimental tasks that have worked best were ‘interactive tasks’ in which the speakers had something at stake. For instance, an animated, spontaneous conversation was elicited by a QUIS video about theft, where the consultants were asked to impersonate the two characters accused of being the perpetrator. By asking the consultants to impersonate the characters from the film, an attempt was made to reduce the artificial character of the communicative setting, which, at least in this case, has worked well. A situation involving theft and avoidance of responsibility was easy for the consultants to identify with, since the issues depicted in the film are relatively universal across cultures.

Another issue is the interpretation of graphic conventions. Cohn (2015) mentions that despite the fact that many ‘assume that cartoony images and the ability to understand sequential images is universal’, studies show that this is in fact not the case (cf. Fussell & Haaland 1978). A related issue, which also came up in my fieldwork, is the influence of cultural factors on the interpretation of graphic conventions (San Roque et al. 2012: sec. 4.3.1). As mentioned in Section 4.1.2.1, I have worked with an illustrator to re-draw certain pictures from the QUIS set, so as to make them more easily interpretable for the consultants. At the point at which the re-drawing was undertaken, I had spent six months in Ecuador, but the illustrator I worked with had never been there. The task of adapting the stimuli was much harder than both of us had previously imagined. I had largely underestimated the degree of detail the illustrator needed in order to accurately depict the simplest aspects of daily life in the Ecuadorian Amazon. These included the sizes of items such as baskets, canoes or pots, manners of handling basic tools such as machetes, preparing local foods, layout and design of houses, types of clothing or vegetation etc. Another important issue was the depiction of body postures, gestures and facial expression in series of events, so as to induce the intended interpretation. I only became aware of how significant those were when I started using the stimuli with consultants.

Picture sequences turned out to pose several interpretative difficulties. Firstly, even when I explicitly mentioned that pictures were meant as a series, they were often interpreted as separate events. Moreover, sequential interpretation was very easily disrupted. In QUIS Task 2 (Skopeteas et al. 2006), depicting various series of four events with the same agent, if in one of the pictures the facial expression of the character suddenly changed, this was likely to disrupt the consultant's interpretation of the sequence of actions the character was performing. Picture sequences involving an agent and a patient were also consistently difficult to interpret, especially in case of actions which were only depicted partially, e.g. a mother feeding a child depicted as a woman reaching out with a spoon towards the child's mouth. Moreover, in line with Cohn's (2015) observations, the consultants involved in my study sometimes had difficulty understanding images framed in such a way as to only depict cut off parts of individuals, e.g. a hand holding something.

Despite these interpretative difficulties, using experimental tasks allowed me to gain insight into pragmatic structuring of discourse which would have been impossible to gain on the basis of analysing naturalistic discourse alone. While 'staged communicative event', which I have been calling 'elicited discourse' here, might lack a genuine communicative function (Himmelmann 1998) or be misrepresentative of natural language use (Lüpke 2009), they are nonetheless a valuable source of linguistic data. If analysed in conjunction with naturalistic discourse and grammatical elicitation, elicited discourse can expand, rather than limit, our understanding of the structure of the language under study.

## **4.2 Previous studies of Quechua information structure**

In this section, I provide a general overview of the work on information structure of Quechuan languages, including prosodic, morphological and syntactic marking of IS categories. As far as I am aware, descriptions of IS marking in Quechuan varieties spoken outside Peru are very limited (see Muntendam 2015 for Bolivian Quechua), and no studies exist on IS in Ecuadorian Quechua, including TK. In the paragraphs that follow, I summarise the main findings of the existing studies of IS marking in the Quechuan varieties for which it has been described.

In the grammatical descriptions of Quechuan varieties (cf. e.g. Parker 1969; Cerrón-Palomino 1976; Cusihuamán 1976/2001; Adelaar 1977; Cole 1982; Calvo Pérez 1993), the IS categories are discussed inasmuch as they are marked by dedicated suffixes/clitics. No discussion of notions such as ‘topic’ or ‘focus’ is provided, leaving the reader uncertain with respect to the language-specific functions of the topic and focus markers. A notable exception in this regard is Weber’s (1989) description of Huánuco Quechua, which provides a detailed discussion of the syntactic distribution and pragmatic/IS properties of the marker *-qa*. While not using any IS-specific terms, Weber claims that *-qa* ‘tends to occur on constituents which were previously mentioned or alluded to, or are part of *general knowledge*’ (Weber 1989: 400), and on constituents which are ‘the most responsible for the sentence’s relevance to its context’ (Weber 1989: 404). He also discusses the Huánuco evidentials *-mi*, *-chi* and *-shi*, but does not analyse them as focus markers, contrary to analyses provided e.g. for Tarma Quechua (Adelaar 1977). Weber states the Huánuco evidentials might ‘sometimes, but certainly not always’ have the focus-marking function (1989: 427), and introduces ‘information profile’ for Huánuco Quechua, whereby *-qa*-affixed constituents occur clause-initially, followed by constituents affixed with evidentials, and the inflected verb occurring after, or as one of the evidentially-marked elements. Verbs occur clause-finally, unless they are followed by a *-qa*-marked subject or object constituent (Weber 1989: 427–36). Illustrating his analysis with examples from written texts, Weber claims that this pattern represents the sentence’s progression ‘from rhematic to thematic material’, and that deviations from it constitute a rhetorical device.

As mentioned above, apart from Weber’s work (1989), most descriptive grammars of Quechuan varieties grant limited attention to IS. On the other hand, academic interest in marking of the IS categories in Quechuan languages has been on the rise since the beginning of the XXI<sup>st</sup> century. Over the course of the last decade, several publications devoted especially to syntactic and morphosyntactic marking of IS in Quechuan languages have been published (see below). At the same time, limited work has been carried out on Quechua prosody and intonation in general and on prosodic marking of IS (but cf. O’Rourke 2009; Muntendam & Rijswijk 2014).

Muntendam (2015) looks into morphological, syntactic and prosodic means of expressing focus and topic in Bolivian Quechua. On the basis of data from other varieties, she hypothesises that Quechuan topic and focus are marked morphologically (via dedicated particles) and syntactically (via changes in word order), but not by specific pitch contours. She examines those claims with respect to Bolivian Quechua, and finds that in BQ focus is not marked morphologically, and the use of *-mi*, *-si* and *-chá* is considered archaic (Muntendam 2015: 222-4). This leads her to conclude that in BQ the morphological marking of focus is obsolete, but has been lost relatively recently, while the loss of topic marker *-qa* is underway (2015: 223-4). In Sections 4.4 and 4.5 I show that if the study of TK was based only on elicited data, similar conclusion could be drawn. However, naturalistic TK discourse data reveals a different pattern. This invites the question of whether examining data from naturalistic discourse on a par with data obtained through elicitation could have revealed a different pattern also for BQ. On the other hand, Muntendam (2015) also shows that speakers' intuitions about the markedness of morphological strategies of IS marking support the obsolescence hypothesis.

Muntendam devotes most space to the discussion of prosodic marking of focus, checking for the correlation of BQ foci with prosodic strategies known to be used cross-linguistically in focus marking: peak alignment, downstep/upstep, and intensity and duration of  $F_0$ . She shows that in BQ peak alignment is not used for focus marking, but she finds some correlations between contrastive focus on the object and upstepped/even peaks, and contrastive focus on the subject and downstepped peaks. She suggests that prosodic features of IS marking in Quechua could also be influenced by the consultants' proficiency in Spanish and the prosodic strategies they use to mark IS in that language (2015: 240). While these results are quite preliminary, they are worth mentioning, since they constitute one of the very few attempts to analyse the prosodic marking of IS in Quechuan languages. More research is needed both on the interaction of the different IS marking strategies in Quechua alone, and on the influence of Spanish on Quechua in this respect.

The prosodic marking of IS is also marginally addressed by Sánchez (2010: sec. 8.2), who otherwise focuses on syntactic marking of IS (see below). She presents a preliminary analysis of intonation patterns of Southern Quechua, based on short

narrative texts, and focuses on the intonation contours of the left- and right-peripheral constituents in SQ. She finds no correlation between left-peripheral constituents morphologically marked for IS categories and a particular intonation pattern. The right-detached constituents, on the other hand, ‘might be associated with breathy vowels and a particular intonation pattern’ (Sánchez 2010: 228). However, as the author herself observes, since the results she presents are preliminary and based on scarce data, more research is needed to confirm them.

Morphological and syntactic marking of IS categories in Quechua, in particular in the Peruvian varieties, has been studied much more widely. Muysken (1995) grants primary attention to focus marking, basing his research on the data from several Peruvian varieties. His generative analysis concentrates on the focus function of the evidential/focus markers (*-mi/-si/-cha*). He analyses them as ambiguous between the focus and evidential reading, claiming that their unmarked position is on the first constituent on the clause, where they are ambiguous between ‘focus on the first constituent and no contrastive focus’ (Muysken 1995: 381). The markers can also occur on non-initial constituents, in which case focus only scopes over that constituent. The evidential force of the markers always has clausal scope. Muysken lists several distributional properties of the markers, claiming that they are (1) constituent-external, (2) limited to one occurrence per clause, (3) restricted to main clauses/subordinate clauses with tensed verbs, and that they cannot occur (4) in imperatives, (5) on certain elements unmarked for case, i.e. manner or temporal adverbials, temporal nouns, (5) in clauses where the tensed verb has been deleted. He also claims that the markers (6) always occur on pre-verbal constituents, although he also cites Levinsohn’s (1975) contrary claim for Colombian Quechua (Inga). Several of these properties were discussed for TK enclitics in Chapter 3. I expand on this discussion in Section 4.5 by relating some of Muysken’s observations to the TK data.

Sánchez (2010) analyses IS marking in Southern Quechua, encompassing several Peruvian varieties. She explains the characteristics of evidential/focus markers put forward by Muysken (1995), referring to Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of functional projections. Her work expands on Muysken’s analysis, taking into account morphological and syntactic marking of both focus and topic. She proposes that the syntactic restrictions on topicalised constituents are similar to those Muysken (1995)

listed as applying to focalised constituents, and explains those, too, with reference to functional projections. She shows that in SQ, constituents designating topics can occur in any position in the clause. Focal constituents, on the other hand, can occur clause-initially or *in situ*, but not post-verbally at the right edge of the clause. These observations were confirmed by other authors dealing with Quechua information structure (cf. Cerrón-Palomino 1987; Muysken 1995; Muntendam 2015).

According to Sánchez, topics can be morphologically marked when they occur *in situ* or clause-initially. She shows that when topical material appears post-verbally at the right edge of the clause, or is right-detached, it tends not to be marked morphologically. She argues that right-dislocated topical constituents are used for disambiguation between potential topics of sentences or discourse, produced after the speaker notices potential ambiguity (Sánchez 2010: 190-5). While her account of IS marking in SQ seems to be based on a larger corpus of elicited data coupled up with naturalistic discourse, in her analysis she turns to four relatively simple narratives to confirm the patterns discussed above (Sánchez 2010: ch. 8). In two cases, the narratives were produced by children as Quechua re-tellings of a narrative in Spanish, which is potentially problematic due to the risk of L2 influence. The other two narratives were produced by adults as a result of picture-based storytelling tasks. It would be interesting to see whether the patterns of IS marking attested in those texts are in line with patterns attested in naturalistic narrative discourse.

In her more recent work, Sánchez (2015) focuses on the syntactic roles and interpretation of constituents at the right edge of the sentence. She argues that constituents at the left margin of the sentence are involved in marking the perspective of the speaker, including evidential and epistemic stance (Sánchez 2010: 292). The unmarked right-peripheral constituents, on the other hand, introduce information that is not central to the main topic-focus articulation, or serves disambiguation purposes. These conclusions are based on the comparison of elicitation data with narratives based on one of the Frog Story books (Mayer & Mayer 1992), produced by 19 speakers of Southern Quechua. Sánchez mentions that post-verbal subjects unmarked with *-qa* are judged ungrammatical in elicitation, but do occur in discourse, and explains that inconsistency with the syntax-external, deictic status of the unmarked right-detached constituents. While Sánchez's (2010; 2015) observations regarding



topical constituents apply to TK (see Section 4.4), the placement of focal constituents seems to be more free in TK than in Peruvian varieties (see Section 4.5), possibly due to the fact that the word order of TK is less strictly verb-final than the word order of the varieties spoken in Peru.

In this section, I have summarised the previous studies of IS in Quechuan, granting particular attention to studies of syntactic and morphological marking of IS categories. Most descriptions coincide in that morphological marking of topic can occur anywhere in the clause, while foci, whether or not morphologically marked, only occur pre-verbally. It is also common across varieties – and consistent with cross-linguistically attested patterns – that when both topic and focus are morphologically marked, topical constituents precede the focal ones. In clause-initial position, new foci and topic are introduced. Topical expressions occurring post-verbally tend to serve for disambiguation purposes. In the following sections, I compare the above findings to the syntactic and morphological strategies of IS marking in TK.

### 4.3 Syntactic means of expressing IS categories in TK

As discussed in Section 4.2, previous studies of Quechua IS focused mostly on syntactic and morphological marking of IS categories. This is also the case for this study. Limited discussion of prosody is motivated not by the irrelevance of prosodic marking to the IS of TK, but rather by issues of space and available data. In terms of prosodic marking of IS, the QUIS-based elicitation has only shown that in TK, prosodic prominence is given to new (focal) information, or to given, but contrastive information (both focal and topical).

In TK, brand new referents are introduced into discourse by stative, intransitive clauses, in which the verb (*tia-*, ‘to be’) is elided. New referents are often preceded by the numeral *shu* (‘one’), used as an indefinite article. Consider:

(4.7)

|              |                   |              |              |              |                   |               |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>Kaybi</i> | <u><i>shu</i></u> | <i>wasi,</i> | <i>wasiy</i> | <i>tiawn</i> | <u><i>shu</i></u> | <i>warmi,</i> |
| kay-pi       | shu               | wasi         | wasi-pi      | tia-w-n      | shu               | warmi         |
| P.DEM-LOC    | one               | house        | house-LOC    | be-PROG-3    | one               | woman         |

|              |                |                |              |               |             |               |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| <i>kinsa</i> | <i>churira</i> | <i>charin.</i> | <i>Punda</i> | <i>churi,</i> | <i>kipa</i> | <i>churi,</i> |
| kinsa        | churi-ta       | chari-n        | punda        | churi         | kipa        | churi         |
| three        | son-ACC        | have-3         | first        | son           | next        | son           |

|              |               |           |              |                |            |   |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|------------|---|
| <i>washa</i> | <i>churi.</i> | <i>Ña</i> | <i>punda</i> | <i>churira</i> | <i>kay</i> | <i>warmi<sub>i</sub> / *shu warmi<sub>i</sub></i> |
| washa        | churi         | ña        | punda        | churi-ta       | kay        | warmi / shu warmi                                 |
| last         | son           | already   | first        | son-ACC        | P.DEM      | woman / one woman                                 |

|               |                  |               |                |                   |
|---------------|------------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>kachan</i> | <i>rangingaj</i> | <i>tomate</i> | <i>muyura,</i> | <i>mercadoma.</i> |
| kacha-n       | randi-ngak       | tomate        | muyu-ta        | mercado-ma        |
| send-3        | buy-PURP         | tomato        | fruit-ACC      | market-DAT        |

‘Here [there is] a house, in the house there is a woman, [who] has three sons. [The] first son, [the] medium son, [the] last son. Now, this woman/\*a woman sends [the] first son to buy tomatoes, to [the] market.’

el\_01122014\_02 027-30

Example (4.7), which is an opening line from a story, shows that the indefinite article *shu* only occurs with brand new, unidentifiable referents. As shown by the ungrammaticality of *shu warmi* (‘one woman’) upon its second mention, once a referent has been introduced into discourse, or in case it is unused, but identifiable, *shu* is ungrammatical.

Active referents can be encoded by pronominal phrases, or elided altogether (cf. Grzech 2016). Like in other pro-drop languages, both subjects and objects can be elided if designating active referents which can be recovered from discourse. Inactive subjects must be expressed by lexical NPs, and contrastive subjects – and objects – must be overt (cf. Nikolaeva 2001: 27). Another strategy used to mark active referents is the use of the ‘same reference’ enclitic =*llara*:

(4.8)

|              |     |           |        |             |
|--------------|-----|-----------|--------|-------------|
| Kay-bi=ga    | shu | mesa-ra   | randi  | tanga-w-n,  |
| P.DEM-LOC=ga | one | table-ACC | rather | push-PROG-3 |

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| chay  | runa=llara |
| D.DEM | man=ID.REF |

*Here, on the other hand, [he] is pushing a table, that same man.*

el\_05122014\_05 088

The referents marked by =llara include, but are not limited to, topic-designating expressions.

Example (4.8) also illustrates an information structural parallel between TK and Cuzco Quechua (cf. Sánchez 2010; 2015). As mentioned in Section 4.2, CQ right-detached constituents, prosodically separate from the main clause, serve for disambiguation purposes. Example (4.8) shows that this is also the case in TK. However, while in CQ, ‘right-detached constituents always contain presupposed material’ (Sánchez 2010: 13), in TK they can contain non-essential new information which can be classified as ‘comment’ in IS terms (see Section 4.1.1), e.g. obliques specifying the location of core arguments:

(4.9)

|           |            |          |     |       |       |            |
|-----------|------------|----------|-----|-------|-------|------------|
| Kay-bi    | shinallara | shaya-n  | shu | kari. | Chi   | kari=llara |
| P.DEM-LOC | as.well    | stand-3  | one | man   | D.DEM | man=ID.REF |
|           |            |          |     |       |       |            |
| yachi-n,  | wasi       | mayambi. |     |       |       |            |
| seem-3    | house      | next.to  |     |       |       |            |

‘Here as well, there is a man standing. It seems [it is] the same man, next to a house.’

el\_01122014\_10 063

In (4.9), the new information conveyed by the right-detached constituent is the location of the man. In sum, right-detached constituents can only contain core arguments if those are active in discourse, and can contain comment material, which is new, but not central to the proposition expressed by the clause. Further research is needed to determine whether there are prosodic differences between these two types of right-detached expressions, as the different types of right-detached constituents have been attested to vary in prosody in other languages, e.g. in German (cf. Averintseva-Klisch 2008).

Within TK main clauses, both topical constituents and argument foci can occur in any position. Both foci and topics frequently occur clause-initially:

(4.10) Clause-initial focus

|    |         |                  |     |            |
|----|---------|------------------|-----|------------|
| Q: | Pi-ta   | apa-mu-w-n       | shu | silla-ra ? |
|    | who-ACC | bring-CIS-PROG-3 | one | chair-ACC  |

A: Shu ichilla warmi wawa apa-mu-w-n shu silla-ra  
 one small woman child bring-CIS-PROG-3 one chair-ACC

Q: ‘Who is bringing a chair?’

A: ‘A little girl is bringing a chair.’

el\_04122014\_01 010-11

(4.11) Clause-initial topic

Q: Kay-bi ima-ra apa-mu-w-n kay ushushi ?  
 P.DEM-LOC what-ACC bring-CIS-PROG-3 P.DEM daughter

A: Kay ushushi apa-mu-w-n shu banka.  
 P.DEM daughter bring-CIS-PROG-3 one bench

Q: ‘Here, what is this girl bringing?’

A: ‘This girl is bringing a bench.’

el\_03122014\_03 013

Both topics and argument foci also occur in post-verbal, clause-final positions:

(4.12) Clause-final focus

Q: [Kay-bi ]<sub>TOP</sub> [pi=ta ]<sub>FOC</sub> llushti-w-n shu pukushka-ra ?  
 P.DEM-LOC who=ta peel-PROG-3 one ripe.plantain-ACC

A: Kaybi llushti-w shu warmi,  
 P.DEM-LOC peel-PROG one woman

Q: ‘Here, who is peeling a ripe plantain?’

A: ‘Here, a woman is peeling [the plantain].’

el\_04122014\_03 045-46

(4.13) Clause-final topic

Ña, kay-bi shu kari shu warmi tia-nun. Upi-ria-nun,  
 well P.DEM-LOC one man one woman be-3.PL drink-CONT-3.PL

shu warmi upi-w-n... ñuka riku-jpi cerveza yachi-n. Shu vaso-y  
 one woman drink-PROG-3 1.PRO see-SWREF beer seem-3 one glass-LOC

upi-w-n            warmi. Kari    randi    upi-w-n            botella-y  
 drink-PROG-3   woman   man    rather    drink-PROG-3   bottle-LOC

‘Now, here there is a man [and] a woman. They are drinking, the woman is drinking... according to me [it is] beer, it seems. [The] woman is drinking from a glass. [The] man, on the other hand, is drinking from a bottle.’

el\_27112014\_01 29-32

While all the topic-focus articulations shown above do occur, post-verbal topics are by far the least frequent. The QUIS elicitation data contained 245 examples of all-new clauses<sup>39</sup>, including 191 intransitive and 54 transitive clauses. The VS order occurred in only about 14% (n=26) of intransitive clauses, and was mostly associated with (contrastive) focal subjects. Otherwise, the intransitive clauses were verb-final. In case of transitive clauses, however, the SVO order was attested in over 40% of the cases (n=22), and OVS order was attested once. Although these data are only preliminary, they suggest that TK cannot be considered as strictly verb final as Peruvian Quechua varieties (cf. Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010; 2015). While the generalisations based on QUIS data allow to only draw preliminary conclusions, they do show that in TK the SOV order is not as dominant as in other Quechuan varieties, including CQ, which Sánchez (2015: 293) describes as having canonical SOV word order in main clauses with wide focus and overt constituents.

The more flexible word order of TK results in more possible positions of the topical and focal constituents in the clause. The general pattern of occurrence of topical and focal constituents is similar to those described for other varieties. However, in TK transitive clauses, the notion of *in situ* marking used in other studies of Quechua IS becomes problematic, since object NPs can occur both pre- and post-verbally.

Nonetheless, TK is similar to other Quechuan varieties in that the morphological marking of IS categories tends to appear on the left-peripheral constituents (Sánchez 2010: 182). While the topic enclitic =*ga* can sometimes occur post-verbally (see Section 4.4), the distribution of focus-marking enclitics (see Section 4.5) is in line with the observations of Sánchez (2010: 36) and Muysken (1995: 383) for CQ and

---

<sup>39</sup> Clauses which did not contain presupposed information and constituted the first utterance in the discussion of a given stimulus.

‘Ecuadorian Quechua’, respectively: morphologically marked post-verbal foci have not been attested in the TK corpus collected to date.

#### 4.4 Discourse marker *=ga* and topicality

This section focuses on the use of the TK discourse enclitic *=ga* and its correlations with topicality. To-date studies of topic marking in Quechua all analyse cognates of *=ga* as topic markers (see Section 3.3.2.1). On the other hand, most grammatical descriptions (except Weber 1989) provide little information on the discourse and grammatical contexts in which the marker occurs, and typical examples involve cognates of *=ga* attaching to a referential NP. Such presentation leads us to believe that topic marking in Quechuan is a mirror-image of the marking of aboutness topics in better-described languages (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994). In this section, I show that distributional evidence from TK requires revisiting these assumptions.

Previous studies also show that multiple constituents in the same clause can bear the ‘topic’ marker (cf. e.g. Weber 1989; Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010), and establish that it can only occur on clausal heads (Weber 1989: 514; Muysken 1995: 381; Sánchez 2010: 43). Both these properties apply to the TK *=ga* (see also 3.3.2.1).

The descriptions of the marker’s cognates attested in other varieties of Quechua also claim that occurrence ‘is restricted to full main clause constituents’ (Sánchez 2010: 43). The latter means that while *=ga* can occur on heads of subordinate clauses, it cannot occur on constituents within the subordinate clauses, e.g. a constituent within a nominalised subordinate clause cannot be marked with *=ga*. Sánchez provides the following example to illustrate the point:

(4.14)

|           |                       |                 |          |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| *[Hwan-pa | papa-ta= <b>qa</b>    | miku-sqa-n-ta ] | yacha-ni |
| NAME-GEN  | potato-ACC= <b>ga</b> | eat-NOM-3-ACC   | know-1   |

Intended: ‘I know that, potatoes, Hwan eats’

(Adapted from Sánchez 2010: 43)

The data suggests, however, the the restriction to occurrence on ‘full main clause constituents’ does not apply to the TK *=ga*. Consider:

(4.15) = (3.9)

shuk punda maska-w, [ washa=**ga** a-k ]<sub>RC</sub>  
 one first look.for -PROG after =**ga** be -AG.NMLZ

shuk, [kipa=lla a-j ]<sub>RC</sub> shina chikan  
 one last =LIM be -AG.NMLZ like.this apart

‘One is looking first, the one who is after, the one who is younger also [looks], apart.’

el\_16082013\_02 060

In (4.15), =*ga* occurs on the head of a (minimal) AdvP within a relative clause, which suggests that in TK the marker is not restricted to the occurrence on heads/edges of the main clause constituents. However, more examples from naturalistic discourse, as well as grammaticality judgements, would be needed to check whether and how the TK =*ga* differs from its cognates in this respect.

An aspect of the distribution of the cognates of =*ga* not considered in detail in previous studies is the marker’s non-obligatoriness. As mentioned in Section 3.3.2.1, the ‘elicited discourse’ part of the TK corpus contains 1537 turns, and 112 tokens of =*ga*. This means that the enclitic only occurred in about 7.3% of turns. While I do not have data about the number of syntactically marked topics, or number of clauses containing topical constituents, it is reasonable to assume that the =*ga*-marked topics constitute a small percentage of all topical expressions in the TK corpus. I show below that while the contexts in which =*ga* occurs justify its analysis as a marker associated with topicality, topicality *per se* is not a sufficient condition to trigger the occurrence of the marker.

As shown in Table 3.2 in Section 3.3.2.1, almost 70% of the token of =*ga* in the parsed and glossed part of the corpus occur on nouns, and personal and demonstrative pronouns. Further 15.2% occur on verbs, and 9.8% – on adverbs of place and time. The remaining 5% attach to discourse connectives. While the fact that 70% of the tokens of =*ga* occur on (pro)nominal hosts is consistent with its interpretation as a marker of topic, the remaining 30% is more problematic if =*ga* is to be interpreted as topic marker also in TK. Interestingly, in the QUIS elicitation data the frequency of =*ga* was much higher than in other parts of the corpus: almost 38% (n=347) of all utterances were marked with =*ga*. Below, I show that this

distributional difference can be explained with a much higher frequency of ‘frame-setting’ topics in the QUIS elicitation data compared to naturalistic discourse.

On nouns and personal pronouns, =*ga* does occur on topical expressions:

(4.16)

Shu kuti tia-ka shu ruku runa / \*runa=**ga**.  
 one time exist-PST one old person / \* person=**ga**

Kay runa / runa=**ga** sachay kawsa-j a-ka.  
 P.DEM person / person=**ga** jungle-LOC live-AG.NMLZ COP-PST  
 ‘Once upon a time, there was an old man. This man used to live in the jungle.’

el\_09122014\_02

Example (4.16) is an opening line of a story, where the occurrence of =*ga* on the expression denoting a brand-new referent was judged ungrammatical. This suggests that the presentative structure in the first line of (4.16) is athetic construction, simply asserting the existence of an entity, rather than making a predication ‘about’ it (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 138-140). Thetic constructions are topic-less, hence the ungrammaticality of =*ga*. As also shown in (4.16), once the referent had been introduced, marking its expression with =*ga* was considered grammatical, though not obligatory. Similarly, =*ga* is permissible if the referent is assumed to be situationally accessible, but has not been mentioned in previous discourse:

(4.17)

Jenny=**ga** ?  
 NAME=**ga**  
 ‘What about Jenny?’ / ‘Where is Jenny?’ / ‘And Jenny?’

attested

(4.18)

A: Kawsa-ngui=*chu*?  
 live-2=Q/NEG?  
 ‘How are you? (lit. are you alive?)’



B:   Alli=mi           kawsa-ni.       Kan=**ga** ?  
       good=mi        live-1       2SG=**ga**  
       'I am well. [And] you?'

attested

Utterances like (4.17) are often used in discussing family members or acquaintances, and can be conversation-initial. Multiple translations reflect the fact that the exact meaning of such utterances is highly context-dependent. In example (4.18) the referent of the =*ga*-marked expression (2SG pronoun) is the interlocutor, who is situationally evoked by default in every two-party conversation.

In the QUIS elicitation data, all tokens of =*ga* on nominal hosts occurred in parallel structures, where more than one referent could potentially be topical. Consider (4.19), which is a description of Image 4.1:

**Image 4.1 Adapted stimulus from QUIS task 18 ('Who does what')**



(4.19)

|       |      |            |              |
|-------|------|------------|--------------|
| Kay   | runa | naranja-ra | llushti-w-n. |
| D.DEM | man  | orange-ACC | peel-PROG-3  |

Shu    warmi=**ga**    palanda-ra    yanu-nga    ra-w-n    yachi-n,  
 one    woman=**ga**    plantain-ACC    cook-FUT    AUX-PROG-3    seem-3

miku-nga-wa.            Kari=**ga**                    naranja-ra.  
 eat-FUT-PURP            man=**ga**                    orange-ACC

‘This man is peeling [an] orange. A woman will cook a plantain, it seems, to eat.  
 [The] man [is peeling an] orange.’

el\_27112014\_04 044-46

In (4.19), the use of =*ga* correlates with a switch from one topic to the other. It should also be mentioned that =*ga* occurs most often on subject and direct objects, which is in line with its interpretation as marker of topical status.

In the corpus, =*ga* occurs on topical nouns and pronouns when a new topic replaces a previous one, or when a previously introduced topic is re-introduced (cf. Weber 1989: 407–8; Sánchez 2010: 213 for similar usage in other varieties). Nonetheless, while the enclitic is often used in the context of topic change, it is not obligatory:

(4.20)

Shu    ichilla    warmi    wawa    apa-mu-w-n                    shu    silla-ra,  
 one    small    woman    child    bring-CIS-PROG-3            one    chair-ACC

randi    kari    wawa    randi            apamuwn                    shu    mesa-ra  
 randi    man    child    rather            bring-CIS-PROG-3    one    .table-ACC

‘A little girl is bringing a chair, and the little boy, on the other hand, is bringing a table.’

el\_04122014\_01 011

Example (4.20) shows a parallel structure with two candidates for topichood, none of which is =*ga*-marked. While (4.20) is a grammatical utterance, in most cases of parallel structures in natural discourse at least the second candidate for topichood tends to be marked with =*ga*. It remains to be investigated whether in cases such as (4.20) the topic switch is not facilitated by the discourse particle *randi*. The particle’s semantics suggests that it might facilitate the transition from one topic to another, but on the other hand, it can also function as host for =*ga*, as shown in (4.26) below. The

interaction of *randi* with topic switch, and the contexts in which it can and cannot be encliticised with *=ga*, require further research.

In the naturalistic discourse corpus, *=ga* was also attested to occur on multiple constituents within the same clause:

(4.21)

|                      |                  |                     |                               |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Wawaraga,</i>     | <i>ñukaga,</i>   | <i>tukuyraga,</i>   | <i>wañushkawnandiga,</i>      |
| wawa-ta= <b>ga</b>   | ñuka= <b>ga</b>  | tukuy-ta= <b>ga</b> | wañu-shka-guna-ndi= <b>ga</b> |
| child-ACC= <b>ga</b> | 1.PRO= <b>ga</b> | all-ACC= <b>ga</b>  | die-ANT-PL-INCL= <b>ga</b>    |

|                        |                    |                 |
|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>tukuy nuybirami</i> | <i>charini....</i> | <i>wawawna.</i> |
| tukuy nuybi-ta=mi      | chari-ni           | wawa-guna       |
| all nine-ACC=mi        | have-1             | child-PL        |

‘The children, mine, of all of them, with the dead ones, [I] have nine in total, the children.’

in\_25052013\_01 348

While *=ga* occurs four times in (4.21), the expressions on which it occurs only denote two referents – the speaker and her children. This particular instance of the multiple occurrence of *=ga* in the same clause could be interpreted as stacked topical expressions, which narrow down the single topic referent - the speaker’s children. Multiple occurrences of *=ga* in one clause are infrequent in the part of the corpus analysed to date, and need to be examined more closely in future research.

Parallel structures, which are the most frequent context for occurrence of *=ga* on nouns and personal pronouns, are widely considered contrastive (cf. Repp 2010: 1339 and references therein) because they involve a restricted set of explicit, identifiable alternatives. However, while in naturalistic discourse *=ga* is mostly used on nouns in such constructions, it can also be used in cases where there is only one possible topical referent, as in (4.16) above. In Section 4.1.1, I introduced the distinction between (1) aboutness-shift, (2) contrastive and (3) familiar topics (Frascarelli 2007: 693). While the TK *=ga* would be judged grammatical on all three types, in natural discourse it tends not to occur on familiar topics. However, aboutness-shift and contrastive topics can also occur without morphological marking.

While further research is needed into the communicative contexts in which =*ga* occurs, the above suggests that the use of the enclitic on nouns and personal pronouns is related to both the topical status of referents and the speaker’s subjective perception of whether the topical referent is sufficiently salient for the interlocutor, and sufficiently contrastive with respect to the previous topic of discourse.

As noted above, NPs and ProPs morphologically unmarked for topical or focal status can occur in any position within the main clause (see Section 4.3). However, morphologically marked topic expressions, but not morphologically marked argument focus expressions, can occur post-verbally at the right edge of the clause, or in right-dislocated constituents (cf. Sánchez 2010: 93).

(4.22)

Shinallara Jessica y María illa-j-kuna=ma payguna=**ga**  
 also NAME and NAME lack-AG.NZML-PL=ma 3PL=**ga**  
 ‘Jessica and Maria as well, they don’t have anything.’

el\_01122014\_10 087

Nonetheless, the =*ga*-marked phrases occur most frequently in the clause-initial position, as shown in examples (4.16) through (4.21).

The marker =*ga* can also occurs on ‘clause external’/‘frame setting’ topics (see Section 4.1.1), which set spatial or temporal framework for the main predicate. TK clause-external topic expressions include adverbials, demonstrative pronouns and discourse connectives. In the QUIS elicitation data, 347 clauses contained 353 instances of =*ga*. Of those, almost 74% (n=261) occurred on frame-setting, clause-external topic expressions, listed in Table 4.1:

**Table 4.1 QUIS data: =*ga* on clause-external topical expressions**

| Host            | kay-bi    | kay-ma    | kay   | chi-manda | randi                            | kuna | ALL        |
|-----------------|-----------|-----------|-------|-----------|----------------------------------|------|------------|
| Gloss           | P.DEM-LOC | P.DEM-LOC | D.DEM | D.DEM-ABL | rather /<br>on the other<br>hand | now  |            |
| No of<br>tokens | 242       | 10        | 3     | 3         | 2                                | 1    | <b>261</b> |

Most often, =ga occurred on the locative pronoun *kay-bi*. Consider (4.23) and (4.24) below, used by the consultant to describe Image 4.2 and Image 4.3, respectively.

**Image 4.2 Adapted stimulus 1 from QUIS Task 1 ('Changes')**



**Image 4.3 Adapted stimulus 2 from QUIS Task 1 ('Changes')**



The images above were presented to the consultants in the same order in which they are presented here.

(4.23)

Kaybi            shu... shu    warmi            pujlla-w-n    pelota-wa.  
D.DEM-LOC one    one    woman            play-PROG-3 ball-INSTR  
'There, a....a woman is playing with a ball.'

el\_27112014\_01 048

(4.24)

Kay-bi=**ga**                      manga-ra              nijta-w-n,              piña              -ri              -sha.  
 D.DEM-LOC=**ga**              pot-ACC              kick-PROG-3              be.angry-ANTIC-COR  
 ‘There now, [she] is kicking [a] pot, annoyed.’

el\_27112014\_01 050

Image 4.2, described by (4.23), was the first picture in a series of four, presenting a new subject – a woman. In (4.24), the woman is established as topical, but the frame changes to another picture (Image 4.3), prompting the occurrence of =*ga* on the locative pronoun *kaybi*. In the same utterance, the clause-internal topic is encoded by zero anaphora. However, =*ga*-marking on a clause-external topic does not preclude another occurrence of the enclitic in the same clause. Frame setting =*ga*-marked expressions can co-occur with overt clause-internal topics, also marked with =*ga*:

(4.25)

*Kaymaga*                      *kinsa*              *runawnaga*                      *llakirishkakwinta*  
 kay-ma=**ga**                      kina              runa-guna=**ga**                      llaki-ri-shka-kwinta  
 P.DEM-ABL=**ga**              three              person-PL=**ga**                      be.sad-ANTIC-ANT-SEMBL  
  
*shayanun,*              *kinsa*                      *kariwna.*  
 shaya-nun              kinsa                      kari-guna  
 stand-3.PL              three                      person-PL  
 ‘In here, three men stand, looking sad, three men.’

el\_03122014\_02 047

Discourse connectives like *randi* (‘on the other hand’) can also function as hosts for =*ga*. Example (4.26) comes from the same elicitation task as (4.23) and (4.24). The subject/topic is the same as in the examples above, but the object – and the picture described – change:

(4.26)

Kay-bi                      randi=**ga**              chi                      warmi =llara  
 D.DEM-LOC                      rather=**ga**              D.DEM                      woman=ID.REF

llachapa-wna-ra      nijta-w-n.  
 cloth    -PL -ACC    kick-PROG-3

‘Now on the other hand, that same woman is kicking [some] clothes.’

el\_27112014\_01 049

In (4.26), the discourse connective which serves as the host for *=ga* situates the predication within the framework of the previous discourse.<sup>40</sup> This function is in line with setting a ‘spatial and temporal framework’ function of clause external topics. In (4.26), the enclitic could grammatically occur on either the connective or the demonstrative pronoun, which suggests that the two have similar scope properties and functions in discourse. The topic of (4.26) is marked with the identity of reference enclitic *=llara*, which attaches to referents which remain active throughout a discourse, but are not necessarily topical (see Section 4.3).

The occurrences of *=ga* discussed so far are in line with analysing the enclitic as a marker of topic shift. However, as mentioned before, *=ga* also occurs on verbal hosts. In certain varieties of Quechuan, including Cuzco, cognates of *=ga* only occur on nominalised verbs (cf. Sánchez 2010: 92). In others, like Huánuco Quechua, the marker is also attested on finite verbs (Weber 1989: 394, 416). In TK, *=ga* occurs on nominalised, non-finite and finite verbs. Consider:

(4.27) = (3.7)

Kinri-ra      pasa-w      warmi=**ga**      bicicleta-y      a-j=**ka**,  
 across -ACC    pass-PROG    woman=**ga**    bicycle -LOC    be -AG.NMLZ **=ga**

ri-n=ma      karu-ra      ri-n=ma      pay      ña.  
 go -3=ma    far -ACC    go -3=ma      3.PRO      already

‘[The] women who passed to the side, who was on the bicycle, [she] went, she went far already.’

el\_25092014\_02 054

In (4.27) the enclitic occurs on two co-referential expressions denoting the topic of the clause: the subject of the main clause, and a nominalised verb within a relative

<sup>40</sup> The Huánuco Quechua cognate of *=ga* also occurred on discourse connectives, which Weber (1989: 412-3) analysed as a type of expressions responsible for the utterance’s relevance to context.

clause. The occurrence of *=ga* on nominalised verbs is not problematic for its analysis as a marker associated with topic change, since nominalised verbs are referential (Section 4.1.1). However, *=ga* also occurs on non-nominalised verbs:

(4.28)

Pichka dollar-wa      paganun. Ña      paga-kpi=**ga**,      ñuka=**ga**      kura-ni...  
 five    dollar-DIM    pay-3PL already pay-SWREF=**ga** 1SG=**ga**      cure-1  
 ‘[The patients] pay five dollars. Now, [when they] pay, I cure [them]...’

in\_07072013\_01 166

In (4.28), *=ga* occurs both on the verbal head of the subordinate clause, and on the topic of the main clause. Note that the subordinate verb hosting *=ga* was the main verb of the previous clause, which means it is textually accessible, and is under the scope of pragmatic presupposition.

Non-nominalised verbs do not denote discourse referents, and therefore, according to the established definition of topichood as a property of referential expressions (see Section 4.1.1), should not act as hosts for topic markers. Nonetheless, it is also possible to view the ‘concepts’ designated by verbs, adjectives, or adverbs as akin to referents in that they can also be active or inactive in the minds of discourse participants (cf. Chafe 1976; 1987; 1994). On the other hand, treating actions/states denoted by verbs as ‘concepts’ which can be activated does not resolve the problem with respect to the property of the denotata of topical expressions – that propositions constructed about them can be judged with respect to their truth-or-falsity (see Section 4.1.1). A proposition cannot be constructed ‘about’ an action or state independently of its arguments. On the other hand, it was also suggested in the literature that conditional/temporal clauses can be analysed as topics (Haiman 1978). It remains to be explored in further research how the treatment of conditional and temporal clauses as topics would affect the analysis of the TK *=ga* presented in this thesis.

For Huánuco Quechua, Weber observed that *-qa* only occurs on main verbs if the action denoted by the verb has been mentioned previously (cf. Weber 1989: 416 and references therein). In TK, speakers seem to use *=ga* on subordinate and main verbs when they consider actions denoted by them as mutually identifiable. This was the



case in (4.28), where the =*ga*-marked action was introduced in the preceding clause. Much like in case of the occurrences of =*ga* on nominal hosts, =*ga* seems to be permissible on verbs which encode accessible concepts, irrespective of whether the accessibility is textual, like in (4.28), situational, or inferential. Consider:

(4.29)

*Shinarajpi timbrariajpiga maskan mochilama.*  
 Shina -ra -kpi timbra-ria -kpi=**ga** maska-n mochila -ma  
 like.this -make-SWREF sound-CONT-SWREF=**ga** look.for -3 backpack -DAT  
 ‘So when [the phone] keeps ringing, [he] searches in the backpack.’

el\_05122014\_01 027

Example (4.29) comes from a story in which the protagonist is searching for his phone. When the consultant uttered (4.29), he has not previously mentioned ringing, but had mentioned the phone, therefore evoking a discourse frame (see Section 4.1.1) in which the concept of ringing can be taken as presupposed.

Examples of =*ga* on subordinate verbs are infrequent in elicitation and elicited discourse contexts (see Section 3.3.2.1). In the QUIS elicitation data, only one of 353 tokens of =*ga* occurred on a subordinate, non-nominalised verb, and two further tokens were attested on nominalised verbs. In both ‘elicited discourse’ (see Chapter 3) and QUIS data, =*ga* was not attested on finite verbs. The example below comes from the naturalistic discourse corpus:

(4.30)

*cumuna kallarishkawnara iyay chariniga...*  
 cumuna kallari-shka-guna-ta iya-y chari-ni=**ga**  
 community begin-ANT-PL-ACC thought-OBJ.NMLZ have-1 =**ga**  
 ‘I remember [lit. have an idea] the ones who started the community...’<sup>41</sup>

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 015

Example (4.30) comes from an interview with a community elder, who is an expert on the history of the community and is interviewed for that very reason. This

<sup>41</sup> No further context following the utterance is provided here, since after uttering (4.30), the speaker was interrupted by the interviewer and this discourse topic changed.

example shows that on finite verbs, =*ga* could be interpreted as marking a presupposed proposition as relevant to the current discourse.

As discussed in Section 4.1.1, the scope of discourse enclitics, including =*ga*, differs depending on their host. When they occur on main verbs, it is ambiguous between predicate and clausal scope. Such broad scope can explain the multiple occurrences of =*ga* in the example below:

(4.31)

mana rima-w-shka wawa-guna-kwinta, mana kadzu-nun=dzu  
NEG say-PROG-ANT child-PL-SEMBL NEG pay.attention-3PL=Q/NEG

ni-n. Ñuka chi-bak-ta, escuela-y=**ga**, profesor-guna-ra=**ga**  
say-3 1SG P.DEM-PURP-ACC school-LOC=**ga** teacher-PL-ACC=**ga**

tapu-y-kacha-ni=**ga**... Tapu-ni profesor-da  
ask-COV-send-1=**ga** ask-1 teacher-ACC

‘...they [are] not like the scolded children, they don’t pay attention, they [people] say. Me, because of that, at the school, [I] go ask the teachers. [I] ask [the] teachers [not being sure about the children’s behaviour].’

in\_13082013\_03 001/002/004

In (4.31) the enclitic attaches to the main verb, taking a wide scope over the entire predicate, and possibly, over the entire clause. The occurrence of multiple instances of =*ga* in the clause is somewhat redundant, but could potentially be associated with an emphatic effect. At this stage, this is a hypothetical interpretation. Multiple occurrences of =*ga* in the same clause and the semantic/discourse effects they bring about require further investigation.

In the naturalistic discourse corpus, =*ga* only occurred on finite verbs with present time reference. Moreover, occurrences of =*ga* on verbal hosts seemed to be restricted to discourse genres such as personal narratives or ceremonial songs. Out of 90 co-occurrences of =*ga* with the 1<sup>st</sup> person present marker *-ni* attested in the corpus, 68 were uttered by the same participant, a *virсарu* – traditional wedding singer and violin player – during a performance. The wedding chant has a specific rhythm, in

which each verse consists of four syllables, and it seems that the ‘free enclitics’ are often used in such songs more liberally than in other discourse genres, as they allow the singer to fill in the gaps in the rhythm.

The examples above show that occurrences of *=ga* on non-nominalised verbal hosts correlate with the IS category of ‘background’ (see Section 4.1.1): presupposed, but not thematic content, specifying details which might be necessary for a complete understanding of focused information (Butt & Holloway King 2000).

In this section, I have shown that the occurrences of the enclitic *=ga* in TK discourse correlate with different types of topic structures. The marker occurs on aboutness and contrastive topics, as well as on frame-setting topics and backgrounded constituents. Nonetheless, the marker is relatively infrequent, as it only occurs on about 7% of the turns in the parsed and glossed part of the corpus. This low frequency suggests that *=ga* should not be interpreted as a topic marker, but rather, as a marker associated with topicality, and particularly, with topic change. Consequently, the TK *=ga* could be analysed as a marker of presupposed content which the speaker wishes to make salient to the addressee, or which contrasts with other presupposed information. However, further research is needed to spell this analysis out in more detail. Above, I have shown that one of the contexts in which speakers tend to add saliency to presupposed material and indicate that it is contrastive are parallel structures, but it is not yet clear what motivates the occurrence of *=ga* in other construction types.

## 4.5 Discourse markers and focus

In this section, I discuss the IS function of the discourse enclitics associated with different types of foci. The enclitics in question are: *=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=tá*, *=chu*, *=cha*, and *=ta*. In Chapter 3, I have discussed their morphosyntactic properties, and here I focus on the aspects of their meaning related to their association with the category of focus.

### 4.5.1 *=mi* and the marking of focus

In previous descriptions of Quechuan focus marking (see Section 4.2), most attention has been granted to the focus/‘direct evidential’ enclitic *=mi* (cf. e.g. Muysken 1995;

Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Sánchez 2010). The basic morphosyntactic properties of *=mi* were described in Section 3.3.2.2. It was also mentioned (see Table 3.1 in Section 3.3.1) that in the elicited discourse corpus, the marker only occurred in about 7% of turns (n=108). In the QUIS elicitation data, its frequency is even lower, as it only occurs in 0.7% of utterances (n=7). Such low frequencies suggest that the use of the marker is not conditioned exclusively by the topic-focus articulation. In this section, I also mention other enclitics related to focus: *=ma* and *=mari*, which, in some discourse contexts, seem to occur interchangeably with *=mi*. The semantic and pragmatic issues pertinent to the description of *=mi*, and, to a lesser extent, *=ma* and *=mari*, are discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

In TK, like in other Quechuan, *=mi* tends to occur on the first constituent of the clause (cf. Levinsohn 1975 for Inga/Colombian Quechua (QII); Floyd 1997 for Wanka Quechua (QI); Muysken 1995 for 'Ecuadorian Quechua' (QII); and Sánchez 2010 for 'Southern Quechua' (QII)). The exchange in (4.32) gives an example of *=mi* used contrastively, while (4.33) is an example of non-contrastive subject focus:

(4.32)

A: Paka =lla ra -sha apa -shka -ngui yachi-n shina.  
 hide =LIM do-COR take -ANT-2 seem -3 like.this  
 'Doing as not to be noticed, it seems that you took it like this.'

B: Mana! Kan=**mi** api-ka-ngui, kan, ña riku-ka-ni!  
 NEG 2SG=**mi** take-PST-2 2SG well see-PST-1  
 'No! You took it, I have seen [you]!'

el\_02122014\_05 019-21

(4.33)

Chi-raygu ñuka pagrachu-ni ashka-ra Awa Yaya Dios-ta.  
 D.DEM-CAUSAL 1SG thank-1 much-ACC high father god-ACC

Pay=**mi** ñukanchi-ra fuersa-ra ku-shka, inteligencia-ra ku-shka...  
 3SG=**mi** 1PL-ACC strength-ACC give-ANT intelligence-ACC give-ANT

'That's why I thank High Father God very much. He has given us strength, he has given us intelligence [to keep working].'

in\_03072013\_02 048-9

According to Muysken (1995: 381), when *=mi* occurs clause-initially, it is ambiguous between focus on the first constituent and no contrastive focus, while in other positions it triggers a focal interpretation of its host. While this obtains for TK, the contrastive interpretation arises in discourse contexts where a relevant set of alternatives can be identified (Repp 2010: 1336), rather than due to morphological marking. Therefore, it is sufficient to say that when occurring on arguments and adjuncts, the enclitic only scopes over the constituent on the head of which it occurs.

In other varieties, when *=mi* occurs in the same clause with *=ga*, the *=mi* marked constituent obligatorily follows the *=ga*-marked material (cf. e.g. Floyd 1997:32; Weber 1989b; Muysken 1995:385; Sánchez 2010 for more details). While this is also often the case in TK, example (4.34) shows that this order is not obligatory.

(4.34)

|       |                  |              |                        |
|-------|------------------|--------------|------------------------|
| Mana. | Warmi= <b>mi</b> | chura-ri-n   | ñuka-j-pi= <b>ga</b> . |
| NEG   | woman= <b>mi</b> | put -ANTIC-3 | 1SG-BEN-LOC= <b>ga</b> |

‘No. The woman [not the man] wears [the headphone] in mine [my video].’

el\_05122014\_01 023

Example (4.34) comes from a discussion about differing videos consultants have prior to the exchange. In this case, *=ga* attaches to a possessive pronoun functioning as a frame-setting expression, and the *=mi*-marked constituent is contrastive. It remains to be investigated whether *=mi* occurring before *=ga* is related to a particular topic-focus articulation.

A distributional property which the TK *=mi* does share with its cognates is that it never occurs post-verbally (cf. Muysken 1995: 383; Sánchez 2010). As discussed in Section 4.3, post-verbal focal constituents are attested in TK, but, as far as the data show, cannot be marked by *=mi*, *=ma*, or *=mari*. In the 13h corpus of naturalistic discourse, not one instance of those enclitics on a post-verbal constituent was attested. Nonetheless, *=mi* and the other two enclitics can occur clause-finally on verbs, or on non-verbal predicates, in which the copula is often elided:

(4.35)

*Pay warmiwnami...*

pay warmi -guna=**mi**

3SG woman -PL =**mi**

‘[They are] their wives...’

el\_16082013\_01 160

When occurring on non-verbal predicates, as well as on tensed verbs, =*mi* triggers predicate focus interpretation (cf. Sánchez 2010: 62-4). Consider:

(4.36)

Q: Ima-ra ra-w-ngui?  
what-ACC do-PROG-2

a. Lumu-ra miku-w-ni  
manioc-ACC eat-PROG-1

b. Lumu-ra miku-w-ni=**mi**  
manioc-ACC eat-PROG-1=**mi**

c. #Lumu-ra=**mi** miku-w-ni  
manioc-ACC=**mi** eat-PROG-1

Q: ‘What are you doing?’

A: ‘I’m eating manioc.’

elicited

The question in (4.36) elicits a broad focus of the corresponding answer. The answering utterance can be constructed without a focus enclitic, as in (4.36a), or with =*mi* attaching to the verb, as in (4.36b). The occurrence of the enclitic on the argument, as in (4.36c), is not felicitous in this context, since the scope of =*mi* on NPs is narrow (see Section 4.1.1). The reverse situation is exemplified in (4.37), where the question elicits a narrow focus on the argument.

(4.37)

Q: Ima-ra miku-w-ngui?  
what-ACC eat-PROG-2

- a. Lumu-ra (miku-w-ni)  
       manioc-ACC eat-PROG-1
- b. Lumu-ra=**mi** (miku-w-ni)  
       manioc-ACC=**mi** eat-PROG-1
- c. #Lumu-ra miku-w-ni=**mi**  
       manioc-ACC eat-PROG-1=**mi**

Q: ‘What are you eating?’

A: ‘I’m eating manioc.’

elicited

Since the action of eating corresponds to background, rather than focus, (4.37c) is not felicitous in this discourse context. The issue of the non-obligatoriness of =*mi* in both examples is discussed below.

The enclitic =*mi* can attach to constituents of main clauses, but it can also occur in subordinate clauses (see Section 3.2.2). In such cases, it occurs on the head of the subordinate clause, and the whole subordinate clause is under the scope of focus. Example (4.38) showcases a manner clause, headed by a nominalised verb:

(4.38)

yarka-y                      wañu-w=**mi**                      miku-n.  
 be.hungry-OBJ.NMLZ      die-PROG=**mi**                      eat-3  
 ‘He eats dying of hunger.’

in\_20092013\_04 083

According to Muysken (1995: 383), Quechua focus markers/evidentials cannot occur in gapping structures when the verb has been deleted. This is not the case in TK:

(4.39)

Tsarpundza                      maña-n. Tsatsa-ra=**mi**      asta-nga      ra-w-n,                      shina  
 day.before.yesterday ask-3      sand-ACC=**mi** load-FUT      AUX-PROG-3 like.this  
  
 ni-ka, wasi-ra=**chu**                      ra-nga                      ra-w-n                      ima=**chari**,  
 say-3 house-ACC=Q/NEG make-FUT      AUX-PROG-3                      what=**chari**

|         |                      |          |            |   |
|---------|----------------------|----------|------------|---|
| kosina  | wasi-ra= <b>mi</b>   | ( ra-nga | ra-w-n     | ) |
| kitchen | house-ACC= <b>mi</b> | make-FUT | AUX-PROG-3 |   |

‘He asked [for the wheelbarrow] the day before yesterday. He will load sand, he said, maybe to make the house, [to make] the kitchen.’

ev\_24052013\_01 020

The verb in brackets was elided in the utterance of (4.39). Muysken (1995: 383) takes the ungrammaticality of =*mi* in gapping structures as possible evidence that the marker needs to be ‘supported by a tensed verb in S-structure’. Example (4.39) shows that this claim does not obtain for TK, but further discussion of the issue is beyond the scope of this thesis.

The enclitic =*mi* also occurs on discourse connectives, e.g. on the lexicalised collocation *chiragu* (D.DEM-CAUS). Syntactically, *chirayugu* is a causal adjunct, but in the example above it also function as a causal connective indicating consequence:

(4.40)

|                         |                            |                |                 |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Ashka</i>            | <i>llanganarami</i>        |                | <i>charini,</i> |
| ashka                   | llanga -na -ta = <b>mi</b> |                | chari -ni       |
| much                    | work -INF -ACC = <b>mi</b> |                | have -1         |
| <i>chiraygumi</i>       | <i>mana</i>                | <i>ushani.</i> |                 |
| chi -raygu = <b>mi</b>  | mana                       | usha -ni       |                 |
| D.DEM -CAUS = <b>mi</b> | NEG                        | can -1         |                 |

‘I have a lot of work, that is why I cannot. (response to a request of taking someone to the other side of the river with a canoe).’

el\_02102013 191

In (4.40), two finite clauses are coordinated (see Section 2.5.3.1). Within the first clause, the argument is in focus. The second occurrence of =*mi* is on the connective, due to the fact that it is the causal relationship between the clauses, rather than their propositional content, that falls within the scope of the assertion in the second clause (cf. Lambrecht 1994: 58). Discourse connectives take discourse units/clauses as their



arguments (Creswell et al. 2005). Consequently, it could be assumed that *=mi* on the connective also has clausal scope. However, the scope properties of *=mi* and other discourse enclitics when occurring on discourse connectives need to be investigated in detail in the future.

The examples above show the contexts in which *=mi* can grammatically occur. However, in none of them is the presence of *=mi* required for grammaticality. The data suggest that *=mi* is only syntactically obligatory in corrective contexts:

(4.41)

Mana ñuka ushi=chu,                      ñuka warmi=**mi**. / \*warmi  
 NEG 1SG daughter=Q/NEG 1SG woman=**mi** / \*woman  
 ‘[She is] not my daughter, [she is] my wife.’

el\_28112014\_05

(4.42)

Mana atari-ka=chu,                      tia-nuka=lla=**mi**                      /\*tia-nuka=lla  
 NEG get.up-PST=Q/NEG be-3PL.PST =LIM=**mi**                      be-3PL.PST=LIM  
 chi-bi                      ishki-pura.  
 D.DEM -LOC two -among  
 ‘[(S)he] didn't stand up, they were just sitting there facing each other.’

el\_24112014\_01 041

The corrective constructions exemplified above are contrastive, since the *=mi*-marked constituent stands in an explicit contrast to a relevant set of alternatives (cf. Repp 2010). In TK corrective focus structures, these alternatives are overt. Correction involves rejection of an alternative proposition which is under discussion, or forms part of Common Ground (see Section 4.1.1).

While *=mi* occurs in contrastive and corrective contexts, it does not have an exhaustive meaning. Rather, it seems to indicate ‘weak exclusion’ (Molnár 2006: 220), whereby the proposition does not hold for at least one from the set of relevant alternatives. Exhaustivity is encoded by the limitative marker *=lla*, as shown in the contrast between the answers (4.43a) and (4.43b):

(4.43)

Q: Pedro chari-n=dzu chibilla-ra y shinallara palanda-ra ?  
 NAME have-3=Q/NEG pineapple-ACC and also plantain-ACC  
 ‘Does Pedro have a pineapple and also plantain?’

a. chibilla-ra=**mi** chari-n  
 pineapple-ACC=**mi** have-3  
 ‘He has a pineapple (he doesn’t have the plantain, but might have other fruit apart from pineapple)’

b. chibilla=lla-ra=**mi** chari-n  
 pineapple=LIM-ACC=**mi** have-3  
 ‘He has only pineapple.’

el\_05122014\_09 109

As far as the data show, =*ma* and =*mari* are similar to =*mi* in this respect, and they too, do not encode exhaustivity.

The enclitics =*ma* (see Section 3.3.2.3) and =*mari* (see Section 3.3.2.4) also share the syntactic properties of =*mi* discussed above. Both are less frequent in discourse than =*mi* (see Table 3.1 in Section 3.3.1), but also occur on focal constituents, often interchangeably with =*mi*. Consider:

(4.44)

*Ah, pay aylluwnama anawshka, yanapanga*  
*ah pay ayllu -guna=**ma** a -nu -shka yanapa -nga*  
*ah 3SG family-PL =**ma** COP-3PL.SUBJ-ANT help -FUT*

*ranawn kuna...*  
*ra -nun kuna*  
*AUX -3PL now*

*Ah, they were his relatives, now they are going to help...*

el\_24092014\_03 054

(4.45)

Kam-ba-j-pi                      shuk    tunu=**mari**      a-shka    kay-bi=ga.  
2SG-GEN-BEN-LOC    one    manner=**mari**    be-ANT    P.DEM-LOC=ga  
'In yours it was different, here.'

el\_05122014\_01 071

As mentioned in Section 3.3.2.1, the enclitic =*m*, which occurs on non-verbal and complex verbal predicates, is ambiguous between =*mi* and =*ma*:

(4.46)

Ña,    kay-bi                      randi.    ñuka-j-pi                      randi    warmi                      =**m** a-ka.  
well    P.DEM -LOC    rather    1SG-BEN-LOC    rather    woman =**mi**/=**ma**-be -PST  
'Now here, in mine on the other hand it was a woman.'

el\_05122014\_01 070

The problems with disambiguation are due to the fact that both enclitics occur in similar discourse contexts. They can both be used for identification focus as in (4.44), and in contrastive contexts:

(4.47)

A:    Mana,    warmi... warmi... warmi                      apa-ka.  
         NEG    woman    woman    woman                      take -PST  
  
B:    Kari =**ma** / kari=**mi**                      apa-ka                      chi-ta  
         man =**ma**    man=**mi**                      take -PST    D.DEM -ACC  
  
A:    'No...[the] woman...woman took [it].'  
B:    'The man took that.'

el\_02122014\_05 029-30

Example (4.47) is of corrective focus, since speaker B is contradicting the claim made by A as to who stole the watch in a video they have both seen.

At this stage, there is not enough data available to provide a satisfactory description of the IS functions of =*ma* or =*mari*. Both enclitics seem to be non-obligatory focus markers, but it is not possible at this stage to determine the conditions under which

they might be more likely to be used in discourse than *=mi*. In previous descriptions of Quechuan, Cusihuamán (1976/2001: 231) analysed the ‘impressive’ *-má* as a focalising particle, while Sánchez (2010: 83) claimed that rather than marking focus, *-ma* is a marker of ‘evaluative mood’ (Cinque 1999: 56), encoding the speaker’s perspective with respect to the event. The non-IS aspects of the meaning of *=ma* and *=mari* are discussed in more detail in Section 5.4.

In this section, I have focused on the IS function of the enclitic *=mi*. The data suggests that while all occurrences of *=mi* are on focal constituents, it is only obligatory where the focal content stands in opposition to the content assumed by the hearer to be part of CG. The fact that the marker is felicitous in both contrastive and non-contrastive contexts, however, is an argument against analysing it as a marker associated solely with ‘contrastive focus’. Therefore, the description of the IS role of *=mi* is not sufficient to satisfactorily account for its distribution. In the following chapters, I attempt to provide a more complete picture of the discourse contexts in which *=mi* can and cannot occur. In Chapter 5, I focus on the marker’s epistemic meaning, showing that the epistemic semantics of the marker allows to determine in which contexts the speakers chooses to use *=mi*, rather than the other markers associated with focus, which encode different epistemic values. In Chapter 6, I show how the occurrence of the marker is further conditioned by (1) the expectations of the speaker relative to the knowledge state and expectation of the addressee, and (2) specificity of the CG update provided by a given constituent.

#### 4.5.2 Verum focus and the marker *=tá*

In Section 3.3.2.5, I discussed the morphosyntactic properties of the marker *=tá*. It was only attested seventeen times in the corpus, but on the basis of the naturalistic discourse data coupled up with elicitation basic conclusions can be reached with respect to the enclitic’s IS function of marking verum focus (see Section 4.1.1). Firstly, notice that *=tá* is not felicitous in answers to content questions:

(4.48)

Q: Ima-ra                ra-w-ngui ?  
       what-ACC        do-PROG-2  
       ‘What are you doing?’

- a. Miku-w-ni=**mi**  
eat-PROG-1=**mi**  
'I am eating.'
- b. #Miku-w-ni=**rá**  
eat-PROG-1=**tá**  
'I AM eating.'

el\_28112014\_05

In answers to polar question, on the other hand, =*tá* is felicitous, and its function seems to be strengthening the polarity of the clause:

(4.49)

Q: Miku-w-ngui=chu ?  
eat-PROG-2=Q/NEG  
'Are you eating?'

A: *Mikuwnirá* / #*Mikuwnimi*  
miku-w-ni=**tá** / miku-w-ni=**mi**  
eat-PROG-1=**tá** / eat-PROG-1=**mi**  
'I AM eating.'

el\_28112014\_05

While =*mi* is rejected in answers to polar questions in translation and felicity judgement tasks, it does occur in answers to polar questions in more natural discourse. Compare (4.50) and (4.51):

(4.50)

Q: *María*                      *charindzu*                      *shu*    *puka*    *pimientora?*  
María                      chari-n=chu                      shu    puka    pimienta-ta  
NAME                      have-3=Q/NEG                      one    red    pepper-ACC

A: Ari,              chari-n=**dá**    shu    puka    pimienta-ra,    shinallara    chari-n  
yes              have-3=**tá**    one    red    pepper-ACC    also              have-3

killu=s,            killu            pimienta-ra.  
yellow=ADD    yellow            pepper-ACC

Q: ‘Does Maria have red pepper?’

A: ‘Yes, she does have a red pepper, and she also has a yellow one, a yellow pepper.’

el\_03122014\_02 104

(4.51)

Q: Pedro            chari-n=dzu            shu    manzana-ra?  
NAME            have-3=Q/NEG            one    apple-ACC  
‘Does Pedro have an apple?’

A: Ari,            chari-n=**mi**    shu    manzana, shu            puka    manzana  
yes            have-3=**mi**    one    apple            one            red    apple  
  
shinallara    charin....    shu    sopa    platora            chari-n.  
also            have-3            one    soup    plate-ACC            have-3  
‘Yes, he has an apple, a red apple, and he also has...[he] has a plate of soup.’

el\_01122014\_08 133-34

The fact the both =*tá* and =*mi* can be used in this context does not invalidate the verum focus analysis of =*tá*. Rather, it shows that answers to polar interrogatives in TK can have different focus structures, depending on the communicative intentions of the speaker (see Section 6.1). It also suggests that these intentions are more likely to come into play in contexts that are ‘genuinely communicative’ than in elicitation. The examples above also show that =*tá*, like =*mi* (see Section 4.5.1), does not have an exhaustive meaning.

A property that =*tá* shares with verum focus marking described for other languages (see Section 4.1.1) is that it can only occur on textually evoked propositions:

(4.52)

A: kam-ba            warmi            may-bi=ra            [a-n] ?  
2SG-GEN            woman            where-LOC=INT            [be-3]  
‘Where is your wife?’

B: wasi-y=**mi** / \*wasi-y=**rá**  
house-LOC=**mi** / house-LOC=**tá**  
‘[She is] at home.’

A: wasi-y=cha ?  
where-LOC=cha  
‘At home?’

B: wasi-y=**rá** !  
house-LOC=**tá**  
‘Yes, [she IS] at home!’

el\_28112014\_05

In (4.52), =*tá* is not felicitous on B’s first utterance, with which he introduces the proposition that his wife is at home into discourse. However, =*tá* is felicitous in the second utterance. This suggests that =*tá* is only felicitous on propositions previously introduced into discourse, which correspond to Questions Under Discussion (cf. Gutzmann & Castroviejo Miró 2011). The use of =*tá* marks these propositions as information which, according to the speaker, should be added to CG (cf. Romero & Han 2004). It remains to be investigated whether =*tá* can occur on answers to questions which were not mentioned in the previous discourse, but rather introduced into the set of QUD by virtue of the situational context.

In languages like German, verum focalisation is attested in all major clause types: declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives (cf. e.g. Höhle 1992). In TK, the marker =*tá* only occurs in declarative clauses with positive polarity:

(4.53)

Q: kullki-ra        mana    chari-ngui=chu ?  
money-ACC    NEG    have-2(=Q/NEG)  
‘Don’t you have money?’

a.    chari-ni=**rá**  
have-1=**tá**  
‘I DO have [money].’

- b.    mana    chari-ni=chu /    mana chari-ni=mi / \*mana    chari-ni=**rá**  
       NEG    have-1=Q/NEG / NEG have-1=mi    NEG    have-1=**tá**  
       ‘I don’t have [money].’

el\_28112014\_05

The pattern attested in (4.53) was confirmed by the fact that =*tá* was not attested on negative polarity clauses in the corpus. However, a corpus containing more instances of =*tá*, as well as judgements of grammaticality, are needed to make this conclusion more robust.

In (4.52), =*tá* attaches to a non-verbal host which functions as a head of a locative predicate. In the corpus, the enclitic attaches to non-verbal hosts only if they function as heads of non-verbal predicates (see Section 3.3.2.5). Consider:

(4.54) = (3.46)

- A:    Ishki    Venecia    tia-n    ?  
       two    NAME    be-3  
       ‘Are there two [villages called] Venecia?’

- B:    Ishki=**rá**  
       two =**tá**  
       ‘Yes, [there are] two.’

in\_25052013\_01 248-49

(4.55)

- A:    ña    kay=lla...    kay=lla=cha    ña    ?  
       well    P.DEM=LIM    P.DEM=LIM=cha    now  
       ‘Now that’s it...is that it already?’

- B:    Chi=lla=**rá**.  
       D.DEM=LIM=**tá**  
       ‘[That’s] that.’

- A:    Ña,    kuna=ga    ña....    upi-na ?  
       well    now =ga    well    drink-INF  
       ‘Well, [can one] drink it now?’



B: Kuna=ga upi-**ná**  
 now=ga drink-INF=**Á**  
 ‘Yes, now [one] has to drink it.’

in\_05092014\_03 088-091

Example (4.55) comes from a conversation about preparing a plant remedy. Both utterances of B are verum-focalised, but only the first one bears the marker =*tá*. In the second utterance, a lexical stress shift occurs on the verb, whereby the last, rather than penultimate syllable is stressed. Parker (1969) analysed this type of stress shift in Ayacucho Quechua as morphological marking (see Section 3.3.1), and the gloss ‘=**Á**’ in (4.55) is adopted from his work. In TK, stress shift occurs on the rightmost element of the clause in contexts similar to those in which =*tá* is attested, and the main function of both =*tá* and the word-stress shift seems to be emphasising the polarity of the proposition. Consider another example from naturalistic discourse:

(4.56)

A: Kay-ta mana piti-na=ra ni-ngui=cha kasna=y ?  
 P.DEM-ACC mana cut-INF=ta say-2=cha like.this=y  
 ‘This, we don’t need to cut, just like this?’  
 B: Piti-**ná**...  
 cut-INF=**Á**  
 ‘[We] DO have to cut [it].’

in\_24092014\_03 097-8

In the data collected to date, both the stress shift and =*tá* can occur in the same environments, e.g. on verbs in the infinitive. In (4.55) and (4.56) the infinitive verb is affected by word-stress shift, and in the example below, it acts as hosts for =*tá* in a similar context:

(4.57)

A: *Apachijllara* *pambana?*  
 apa-chi-j=llara pamba-na  
 bring-CAUS-AG.NMLZ=ID.REF bury-INF  
 ‘[So] the midwife herself have to bury [the placenta]?’



#### 4.5.3 Focus, polar questions, and negation: the enclitic =chu

The enclitic =chu is a polar question and negation marker, which also plays a role in focus marking (cf. Muysken 1995: 388-90; Sánchez 2010: 73). Its basic morphosyntax was described in Section 3.3.2.6. The current section focuses on the role =chu plays in IS, and on its interaction with negation. While in the elicited discourse corpus =chu occurred on almost 3% of utterances (see Section 3.3.1), in the QUIS data it only occurred in 0.033% of turns (n=3). Other interrogative focus enclitics were also barely present in that part of the corpus.

Unlike any of the other TK discourse enclitics, =chu occurs in all three main clause types: declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. In declarative clauses, it delimits the scope of negation and it occurs on focal constituent. In interrogatives, it occurs on constituents corresponding to the focus of the equivalent declarative clause. In imperatives, it delimits the scope of the prohibitive particle *ama*.

In declarative clauses, =chu co-occurs with the negative particle *mana* to delimit the scope of negation (see Section 3.3.2.6). The particle *mana* precedes the negated material, while =chu follows it:

(4.58)

ima-manda papito, ñuka **mana** kulpa-ra chari-ni=**chu**, ni-sha=mi ni-ni  
 what-ABL daddy 1SG **NEG** fault-ACC have-1=Q/NEG say-COR=mi say-1  
 “‘Why, daddy, I am not guilty”, I said. (lit. I do not have fault)”

in\_25052013\_1\_02 117

(4.59) = (3.59)

|                  |                    |                 |                   |         |         |
|------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------|---------|
| <b>mana</b>      | yapa= <b>chu</b>   | liba-sha        | iña-ngi           | ni-sha, | ñuka-ra |
| <b>NEG</b>       | much= <b>Q/NEG</b> | be,punished-COR | grow-2            | say-COR | 1SG-ACC |
| piña-j           | a-ka               | ñuka-ra         | iña-chi-j         | mama    |         |
| tell.off-AG.NMLZ | COP-PST            | 1SG-ACC         | grow-CAUS-AG.NMLZ | mother  |         |

“‘You’ve grown up not being punished much”, my mother who raised me used to tell me off.’

in\_01082013\_05 295

In (4.58), the entire predicate is under the scope of negation, while in (4.59) it only scopes over an AdvP, modifying the manner adjunct. Similarly to other focus enclitics, when *=chu* occurs on nominal elements in utterances lacking a tensed verb, the nominal is interpreted predicatively (cf. Sánchez 2010: 74 for the same pattern in CQ). Consider:

(4.60)

kay                    ambi=*ga*            mana    alli            ambi=**chu**  
P.DEM                medicine=*ga*    NEG    good    medicine=**Q/NEG**

‘These medicines are not good medicines.’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO2 405

(4.61) = (4.41)

mana    ñuka                    ushi=**chu**,                    ñuka                    warmi=**mi**  
NEG    1SG                    daughter=**Q/NEG**    1SG                    woman=**mi**

‘[She is] not my daughter, [she is] my wife.’

el\_28112014\_05

Examples (4.60) and (4.61) also demonstrate that *=chu* plays a role in focus marking. In the equative predicate in (4.60), *mana* and *=chu* delimit the scope of both negation and focus, while the topical constituent *kay ambi* (‘D.DEM medicine’) is marked by the ‘topic’/presupposed content marker *=ga*. In (4.61), *=chu* participates in a corrective focus construction, highlighting the negated nominal predicate, while the corresponding corrective portion of the utterance is marked with *=mi*.

In certain discourse contexts, e.g. in negative answers to polar questions, *=chu* and *=mi* can occur interchangeably:

(4.62) = (4.53)

Q:    kullki-ra            mana    chari-ngui=**chu** ?  
         money-ACC    NEG    have-2=**Q/NEG**  
         ‘Don’t you have money?’

a.    mana    chari-ni=**chu**  
         NEG    have-1=**Q/NEG**

- b.      *mana chari-ni=mi*  
           *NEG have-1=mi*

‘I don’t have [money].’

el\_28112014\_05

Both answers are felicitous and appropriate in the same discourse circumstances. In Chapter 5, I discuss the epistemic considerations that might motivate the choice of one enclitic over the other, but in terms of IS, (4.62a) and (4.62b) are equivalent.

Another distributional property which *=chu* shares with other discourse enclitics discussed thus far is syntactic non-obligatoriness.

(4.63)

|            |                 |                 |             |             |                 |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>kan</i> | <i>gustu-ra</i> | <i>ra-ngui,</i> | <i>ñuka</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>usha-ni.</i> |
| 2SG        | nice-ACC        | do-2            | 1SG         | NEG         | can-1           |

‘You do it nicely [the traditional dish], I can’t/am not able to [do that].’

in\_20092013\_02 021

(4.64)

|               |                    |             |                           |
|---------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| <i>imasna</i> | <i>ra-ngui=ri?</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>usha-ni=<b>chu</b></i> |
| how           | do-2=ri            | NEG         | can-1= <b>Q/NEG</b>       |

‘How do you do [that]? I can’t/am not able to [do that].’

in\_20092013\_02 033-34

Examples in (4.63) and (4.64) were uttered by the same speaker in a similar situation – cooking a traditional dish – but *=chu* only occurs in the latter. The non-obligatoriness of *=chu* is confirmed by examples from the corpus, which show that *=chu* is non-obligatory both as a focus marker and as a polar question/negative particle.

In directive clauses, *=chu* also interacts with negation. It (non-obligatorily) occurs in prohibitive constructions involving the particle *ama*:

(4.65)

uya-ni=mi      señora,      ama      llaki-pa-y=**chu** !  
 hear-1=mi      lady      PROH      be.sad-INTEN-IMP=**Q/NEG**  
 ‘I hear [you] ma’am, don’t worry!’

ev\_04102013\_07 007

As mentioned above, =*chu* is the only discourse marker which can grammatically occur in imperative clauses. A tentative explanation for this distributional property of =*chu* is discussed in Chapter 5.

As mentioned above, =*chu* can also occur in positive polarity declarative clauses. In the absence of the negative particle *mana*, =*chu* does not mark negation, but is associated with focal status of constituents, and indicates that the utterance should receive dubitative/rhetorical question interpretation:

(4.66)

Shina      ansa      awa-w=**dzu**,      usa-ra=**chu**  
 like.this      little      weave -PROG=**Q/NEG**      lice-ACC=**Q/NEG**  
  
 maska-w      ima=chari,      mana      yacha-ni      alli-ra      ni-kpi  
 look.for-PROG      what=chari      NEG      know -1      good-ACC      say-SWREF  
 ‘Like this a little bit, is [she] making a braid, or looking for lice or what, I don’t know, to be true...’

el\_16082013\_02 044

In TK, the interrogative mood is marked by means of intonation and – optionally – by the presence of discourse enclitics. In (4.66), although =*chu* is present, the intonation is declarative, and hence the utterance is interpreted as a rhetorical question. Declarative clauses marked by =*cha* and =*chari* receive similar interpretation (see Section 4.5.4).

The final contexts in which =*chu* tends to occur are polar interrogative clauses, although there too, it is not grammatically obligatory:

(4.67)

a. riku-ngui ?

see -2

b. riku-ngui=**chu** ?

see-2=**Q/NEG**

‘Do you/can you see [that]?’

elicited

In polar questions, =*chu* always occurs on predicative elements, which could suggest that it should be analysed as an interrogative equivalent of the verum marker =*tá* (see Section 4.5.2). However, =*chu* does not share the properties of =*tá* in that it is felicitous in out-of-the-blue utterances containing brand new information.

The analysis of =*chu* as a polar question marker is confirmed by its ungrammaticality in content questions:

(4.68)

a. may-ma ri-w-ngui ?

where-DAT go-PROG-2

‘Where are you going?’

b. may-ma =ra ri-w-ngui ?

where-DAT=*ta* go-PROG-2

c. \*may-ma ri-w-ngui=**chu** ?

where-DAT go-PROG-2=**Q/NEG**

d. \*may-ma=**chu** riwngui ?

where-DAT=**Q/NEG** go-PROG-2

eI\_28112014\_05

Examples (4.68c) and (4.68d) show that =*chu* cannot occur in content questions, which, as illustrated in (4.68b), are marked by the content question enclitic =*ta* (see Section 4.5.5).

This section showed that *=chu* functions as a focus marker, delimiting the scope of negation, and as a polar question marker. Like other enclitics discussed in this chapter, it is non-obligatory, which suggests that its distribution is not motivated solely by IS-related factors. It remains to be investigated which aspects of the communicative contexts, or subjective evaluations thereof, prompt speakers to use *=chu* in discourse. In Chapter 5, I discuss the epistemic considerations regarding *=chu*, and compare its use in discourse with that of another marker associated with focus, which tends to occur in similar contexts: *=cha*.

#### 4.5.4 Focus, polar question and doubt: *=cha* and *=chari*

The enclitic *=cha* is functionally similar to *=chu*: it marks focal constituents in polar interrogatives and certain types of declaratives. Contrary to *=chu*, *=cha* does not interact with negation. In other Quechuan varieties the enclitic has been analysed as both a focus marker and an inferential/conjectural evidential (see Section 5.2.2). Here, I describe its association with focus. I also briefly discuss another focus enclitic, *=chari* (see Section 3.3.2.8), which shares many distributional properties with *=chu* and *=cha*.

The enclitic *=cha* occurs in polar questions, where, similarly to *=chu*, it marks constituents corresponding to the focus of the subsequent answer:

(4.69)

Q:   Alli=**cha**                   kasna-y=ga           ?           o...   yapa   ashka=**chu**   ?  
           good=**cha**               like.this-LOC=ga           or       much   many=**Q/NEG**

A:   Alli=mi  
           good=mi

Q:   ‘Is it good up to here? Or [is it] too much [filling]?’

A:   ‘[That’s] good.’

in\_20092013\_02 012-13

(4.70)

Q:   Ayaj=**cha**                   panga ?  
           bitter=**cha**               leaf



A: Ayaj=tá  
bitter=tá

Q: ‘[is it a] bitter leaf?’

A: ‘[it IS] bitter’

in\_05092014\_01 033-34

In polar questions, as far as focus marking is concerned, =*chu* and =*cha* occur in free variation. This gives rise to ambiguities similar to those described for =*mi* and =*ma* (see Section 4.5.1), in cases where the focus marker occurs as a proclitic on the tensed element of a complex/non-verbal predicate:

(4.71)

|         |            |           |                                     |         |   |
|---------|------------|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------|---|
| Kam-ba  | mama=s     | shina     | <b>ch</b> =a-ka,                    | partera | ? |
| 2SG-GEN | mother=ADD | like.this | = <b>chu</b> /= <b>cha</b> -COP-PST | midwife |   |

‘Was your mother also like [this], a midwife?’

in\_08102014\_03 047

In (4.71), the proclitic *ch*= can be disambiguated as either =*chu* or =*cha*. While in terms of focus marking the two are equivalent, disambiguation might be based on the difference in the markers’ epistemic meaning (see Section 5.3.5).

When occurring in declarative clauses, =*cha* – again, similarly to =*chu* – triggers a dubitative/rhetorical question interpretation of the utterance:

(4.72)

|                            |            |               |  |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------|--|
| <i>Usallaracha</i>         | <i>chi</i> | <i>maskan</i> |  |
| usa =llara = <b>cha</b>    | chi        | maska -n      |  |
| louse =ID.REF = <b>cha</b> | D.DEM      | look.for -3   |  |

|                  |                    |                        |                |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|----------------|
| <i>imachari,</i> | <i>parijumanda</i> | <i>maskanusha</i>      | <i>tianun.</i> |
| ima =chari       | pariju -manda      | maska -nu              | -sha tia -nun  |
| what =chari      | on.a.par -ABL      | look.for -3PL.SUBJ-COR | be -3PL        |

‘It might be lice as well [that] this one looks for, or what, they both sit [there] searching [for lice].’

el\_16082013\_02 059

However, when functioning as a rhetorical question/dubitative marker, *=cha* is permissible in a broader range of contexts than *=chu*. While *=chu* is ungrammatical with interrogative pronouns (see (4.68d) above), *=cha* does co-occur on them in declarative contexts:

(4.73)

|                 |                        |                |                 |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| <i>Payska</i>   | <i>maytacha</i>        | <i>rinawn,</i> |                 |
| pay =s =ga      | may -ta = <b>cha</b>   | ri -nun        |                 |
| 3.PRO=ADD=ga    | where -ACC= <b>cha</b> | go -3PL        |                 |
|                 |                        |                |                 |
| <i>karumama</i> | <i>rinawn,</i>         | <i>chi</i>     | <i>wawawna.</i> |
| karu-ma =ma     | ri -nun                | chi            | wawa -guna      |
| far -DAT =ma    | go -3PL                | D.DEM          | child -PL       |

‘They too...where could they be going, they are going far, those kids.’

el\_24092014\_03 075

Depending on the context, utterances like (4.73), can be interpreted as rhetorical questions, dubitative statements, or expressions of lack of knowledge, where *=cha* always attaches to the focal constituent. I discuss these constructions in more detail in Section 5.3.4 within the analysis of the epistemic meaning of *=cha*.

Another interrogative focus marker with distributional properties similar to *=chu* and *=cha* is *=chari*. It occurs less frequently than the other two enclitics – in the elicited discourse corpus, it was only attested on about 1% of utterances (n=16). In the QUIS corpus, it occurred on 0.05% of utterances (n=5). Where it does occur, *=chari*, like *=chu* and *=cha*, marks focus in polar interrogatives and in dubitative statements/rhetorical questions.

(4.74)

|             |                          |          |
|-------------|--------------------------|----------|
| Cedula-ra   | chari-ngui= <b>chari</b> | kan=ga ? |
| ID.card-ACC | have-2= <b>chari</b>     | 2SG=ga   |

‘[As for you], you have an ID card?’

in\_25052013\_1\_01 327

In (4.74), =*chari* is used in a polar question. Both =*chu* and =*cha* could also grammatically occur in that utterance. While =*chari* attaches to the verb, indicating that the predicate is in the scope of focus, the subject of the clause is marked with the topic/presupposed content marker =*ga*.

In rhetorical questions, =*chari* patterns similarly to =*cha* in that it is grammatical on interrogative pronouns:

(4.75)

|                  |                   |                  |                     |
|------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| <i>nallara</i>   | <i>wakunawnas</i> | <i>mana tiaj</i> | <i>ajllayra....</i> |
| shina ajllayra   | wakuna-guna=s     | mana tia-j       | a-j-llayra          |
| like be-EPEN-CON | vaccine-PL=ADD    | NEG be-AG.NMZL   | COP-EPEN-CON        |

|                      |            |            |                |             |
|----------------------|------------|------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>imasnachari</i>   | <i>aj</i>  | <i>aka</i> | <i>chitami</i> | <i>mana</i> |
| imasna= <b>chari</b> | a-j        | a-ka       | chi-ta=mi      | mana        |
| how= <b>chari</b>    | be-AG.NMZL | COP-PST    | D.DEM=mi       | NEG         |

|                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| <i>intindini</i> | <i>ñuká...</i> |
| intindi-ni       | ñuka=Á         |
| understand-1     | 1SG=Á          |

‘And although there used to be no vaccines [people did not get ill], how could that be, that [is what] I don’t understand.’

in\_13082013\_02 070

In Section 3.3.2.8, I mention that =*chari* has previously been analysed as an emphatic version of =*cha*. At present, there is not enough data to prove or disprove this hypothesis for TK. Nonetheless, the data show that the two enclitics are distributionally and functionally similar.

In this section, I have outlined the IS-related properties of =*cha* and =*chari*. While they both occur on focal constituents in interrogative and declarative contexts, as all the markers discussed previously, they are not obligatory. In Section 5.3, I show that the occurrence of both enclitics seems to be related to the speaker’s epistemic considerations and that they seem to be used for attenuation, in contexts where the speaker is unwilling to commit to their epistemic evaluation of the state of affairs.

#### 4.5.5 Focus in content questions: =ta

The enclitic =ta (see Section 3.3.2.9) marks focal constituents in content questions. It always occurs on the constituent corresponding to the focus of the subsequent answer:

(4.76) = (3.79)

|               |      |                  |      |                |
|---------------|------|------------------|------|----------------|
| <i>Pitara</i> |      | <i>munangay,</i> |      | <i>pay ?</i>   |
| pi            | -ta  | =ta              | muna | -nga=y         |
| who           | -ACC | =ta              | love | -FUT =EMPH.INT |
|               |      |                  |      | 3SG            |

‘Who could/would she love, her?’

in\_13082013\_02 070

(4.77)

|              |             |           |           |              |             |         |
|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|---------|
| Ima-ngak=ta  | upi-nguichi | yanu-sha, | chi-ta    |              | ima-ngak=ta | vali-n? |
| what-PURP=ta | drink-2.PL  | cook-COR  | D.DEM-ACC | what-PURP=ta | be.good-3   |         |

‘What do you cook and drink it for, what is that [medicine] good for?’

in\_25052013\_1\_01 027

While in elicitation contexts consultants always judged =ta grammatical on focal constituents of wh-questions, including interrogative pronouns, in naturalistic discourse content questions without =ta are also grammatical. Consider:

(4.78)

|    |      |          |          |
|----|------|----------|----------|
| a. | ima  | shuti=ra | a-ngui ? |
|    | what | name=ta  | be-2     |

|    |      |       |          |
|----|------|-------|----------|
| b. | ima  | shuti | a-ngui ? |
|    | what | name  | be-2     |

‘What’s your name (lit. what name are you?)’

attested

While the proportion of =ta-marked content questions in the corpus has not been counted, in the elicited discourse corpus the marker has only occurred in 1.8% of utterances (n=28). The speakers tend to use =ta when they consider that the focal constituent needs to be highlighted, but the communicative contexts conducive to the

use of such highlighting are yet to be investigated. Speakers can also mark focus in content question with *=mi*. Compare (4.79) to (4.78) above:

(4.79)

Ima shuti=*mi* ?

what name=*mi*

‘What [is her] name?’

in\_20092013\_03 216

Occurrences of *=mi* in interrogatives are grammatical, but restricted by epistemic considerations (see Section 5.3.3), and the expectation of the speaker regarding the state of knowledge and expectation of the addressee (see Section 6.1). The enclitic *=ta*, on the other hand, seems to be epistemically neutral and hence the default – although not obligatory – marker associated with focus in content questions. As mentioned above, at this stage of research it is not clear what discourse contexts or mental states of the speaker are conducive to its occurrence in discourse. Further research should also explore the diachronic development of the marker, and its relation to the ACC *-ta* and the enclitic *=tá* associated with verum focus.

## 4.6 Discourse markers and IS in TK: a summary

In this chapter, I have discussed syntactic and morphological marking of IS in Tena Kichwa. I have shown that syntactic marking of IS in TK is generally in line with cross-linguistically attested patterns, whereby topics tend to occur clause-initially, active topics are expressed by pronominal expressions or elided, and only new – or contrastive – information receives prosodic prominence (cf. e.g. Krifka 1999; Féry & Krifka 2008; Sánchez 2010). The syntactic strategies of IS marking in TK are similar to those attested in other Quechuan varieties, but TK is characterised by less strict verb-final word order. Both focal and topical constituents can occur post-verbally. However, only constituents to the left of the verb can be morphologically marked for focus.

The main aim of this chapter was to explore the relationship of TK discourse enclitics with information structure. In previous analyses of Quechuan, as well as on

the basis of a preliminary observation of the TK data, it could be concluded that the enclitics in question are morphological markers of IS. In line with cross-linguistically attested properties of IS marking, the enclitics appear on the periphery of their host constituents (Féry & Krifka 2008: 12). Moreover, while one of the enclitics can only occur on presupposed material, the occurrence of others is limited to pragmatically asserted content. However, none of the enclitics discussed in this chapter is required for marking IS categories, which suggests that ultimately, they cannot be analysed as markers of IS. As mentioned previously, other aspects of their semantics need to also be considered to determine the exact meanings they encode.

Presupposed material, including primary, secondary, and frame-setting topics, as well as background information, can be marked by the enclitic *=ga*. Presupposed information is not obligatorily marked, but *=ga* tends to occur on material that the speaker wishes to make particularly salient. This applies above all to the occurrence of the enclitic on background constituents. Topical constituents are salient by definition, but the fact that *=ga* occurs most often, but not exclusively, in contrastive or switch-topic constructions suggest that more subjective factors, which depend less on the linguistic context, and more on the psychological states of the speaker, could also play a role in the (non-)occurrence of the marker. Which factors are relevant for the distribution of *=ga* and how they influence it, remains to be determined in future research. What does emerge from the discussion in this chapter is that the TK *=ga* should not be analysed simply as a ‘topic marker’, since it is not an obligatory marker of topicality in TK.

While presupposed content can only be marked with *=ga*, different enclitics can occur on the pragmatically asserted portion of the utterance. The enclitic *=tá* only occurs in positive polarity verum focus constructions, and the distribution of *=ta* is limited to narrow focus in content questions. The enclitic *=mi*, which is the most frequent of all the ‘focus’ markers in the corpus, can occur in both contexts mentioned above, as well in information and contrastive focus constructions, which are also compatible with *=ma* and *=mari*. The enclitic *=chu* marks both negation and focus, and shares many distributional properties with the enclitics *=cha* and *=chari* (see Section 4.5.4), which occur on focal constituents in polar interrogatives and rhetorical questions.

In this chapter, I have shown that the distribution of the markers listed above cannot be explained merely in terms of their association with different clause types or focus structures. While the markers' occurrence within the clause is determined by the topic-focus articulation, and their occurrence is restricted to focal constituents, it seems that the marking of IS is secondary to other aspects of their meaning. In Chapter 5, I show that most of the focus-associated enclitics discussed above can be analysed as encoding meanings related to the origo's epistemic primacy. I demonstrate that taking these meanings into account makes it possible to determine the context in which one of the focus-associated enclitics is likely to be chosen over the other.

## **Chapter 5      The TK ‘evidential’ enclitics as markers of epistemic authority**

In Chapter 4, I discussed the information structural functions of the TK discourse enclitics. Here, I focus on the epistemic semantics of the markers, concentrating on the enclitics which have been labelled ‘evidential’ in other varieties: *=mi* and *=cha*. Although the data show that in TK these – and other – discourse enclitics encode meanings related to epistemic authority rather than evidentiality, discussing the latter is necessary to provide context for the epistemic authority analysis presented here. Firstly, I briefly discuss the state of the art in the research on evidentiality and related categories, including epistemic authority (5.1). Secondly, I discuss the previous studies of evidential enclitics in Quechuan languages (5.2). Following on from that, I analyse the epistemic semantics of the TK cognates of evidential markers: *=mi* and *=cha* (5.3). Finally, I briefly discuss the meaning of the other discourse enclitics (5.4). and provide a short summary of the chapter (5.5).

### **5.1 Evidentiality and related categories in cross-linguistic perspective**

This section discusses the relationship between evidentiality and related categories. Firstly, I outline the relationship between evidentiality and related categories (5.1.1). Secondly, I focus on the different dimensions of knowledge to which evidentiality has been linked in the literature (5.1.2) Lastly, I discuss the semantic distinctions postulated within the evidential domain (5.1.3).

#### **5.1.1 Evidentiality and related categories**

The concept of linguistic marking of the source of information as a semantic and grammatical category in its own right originated from Franz Boas’ descriptive work in the early XX<sup>th</sup> century (cf. Jacobsen 1986; Dendale & Tasmowski 2001; Aikhenvald 2004; Gipper 2011; Howard 2012). However, it was not until the 1980s that evidentiality became a more popular topic of research. The first conference themed on the marking of the source of evidence in the world’s languages took place



in 1981. The volume of proceedings published five years later (Chafe & Nichols 1986) sparked the academic interest in evidentiality that has, since then, been on the rise. Over the past three decades, the body of descriptive and typological work on the topic has grown significantly (see e.g. Willett 1988; Aikhenvald & Dixon 1998; Aikhenvald 2004; de Haan 2013 for typological overviews), and evidentiality has been analysed from different theoretical perspectives (cf. Bruil 2014: 24). The body of both descriptive and theoretical work on the topic is too vast to be granted a comprehensive review here. Consequently, I focus on the publications relevant to the evidential distinctions found in Quechuan languages, and theoretical perspectives related to that adopted in this thesis. This section is concerned mostly with evidential semantics, whereas issues such as syntactic projections of the evidential phrase (cf. e.g. Cinque 1999; Speas 2004; Blain & Déchaine 2007) are beyond the scope of this overview.

The semantic boundaries of evidentiality have been demarcated in different ways. Early analyses defined evidential marking as encoding ‘attitudes toward knowledge’ (Chafe & Nichols 1986: vii) or a ‘range of epistemological considerations’ (Chafe 1986). Such understanding is tantamount to the ‘broad’ approach to evidentiality: regarding it as encoding both the ‘speaker’s attitude towards knowledge’, and the ‘source of knowledge’<sup>42</sup> (Chafe 1986). This broad understanding relies on the axiom that people tend to be sure of things for which they have reliable evidence (Chafe & Nichols 1986: vii; Weber 1986). Such a definition implies intrinsic links between evidentiality and epistemic modality. This link is also present in the literature on modality contemporary to early work on evidential systems, where marking of the source of evidence was considered within epistemic modality (Palmer 1986; Willett 1988). Palmer (1986, cited in Willett 1988: 54) mentions ‘inference’ and ‘confidence’ as two relevant epistemic parameters. Lyons (1977: 793) defines epistemic modality as ‘concerned with the nature and source of knowledge’, and ‘qualifying the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the proposition’. The assumption that speakers are most committed to the truth of propositions for which they have direct evidence is intuitive, and true for most everyday situations. However, there are cases, such as those of religious beliefs or knowledge acquired from authority, where speaker’s commitment

---

<sup>42</sup> Note that in this case ‘knowledge’ can be used interchangeably with ‘information’ or ‘evidence’.

and direct evidence do not go hand in hand (cf. De Haan 1998; Faller 2002; Michael 2008, cf. Section 5.2.2).

The mismatches between speaker commitment to the truth of a proposition and access to direct evidence for it underpins a different tradition of looking at evidentiality, whereby the epistemic and the evidential are regarded as distinct types of propositional modality (Palmer 2001). Under this view, epistemic modality is related to the speaker's judgements about the factual status of propositions. Evidential modality, on the other hand, indicates the evidence speakers have to support their statements (Palmer 2001: 8-9). Regarding the source of information on which a proposition is based as independent from the speakers' beliefs about the veracity of that proposition yields the 'narrow' definition of evidentiality (e.g. Willett 1988: 54; Nikolaeva 2000; Dendale & Tasmowski 2001: 342-3; Aikhenvald 2004), which I adopt in this thesis. According to this approach, evidentiality marks the source of information on which a proposition is based, while epistemic modality evaluates the likelihood that this proposition is true (Cornille 2009, cited in Fetzer & Oishi 2014). Nonetheless, the evidential and modal meanings are often hard to separate (Palmer 2001), and cross-linguistic evidence shows that evidential and epistemic modal meanings can be encoded by the same set of markers (Willett 1988: 55).

Narrowly defined evidentiality and epistemic modality have also been defined as two sub-types of the category of 'epistemicity' (Boye 2012). Under this view, they both provide the 'justificatory support' for a proposition. Evidentiality provides the 'epistemic justification', which can be either direct or indirect (cf. Table 5.1) in Section 5.1.3). Epistemic modality provides 'epistemic support', which can be 'full' (certainty), 'partial' (probability) or 'neutral' (lacking epistemic qualification) (cf. Boye 2012: 36). The term 'epistemic meaning' is used in this thesis in a broader sense than this adopted by Boye (2012: sec. 1.5). After Bergqvist (2015), I see both evidentiality and epistemic modality as categories within the 'epistemic perspective domain' (see Section 5.1.2).

Even studies which define evidentiality narrowly, as a linguistic coding of the source of information, acknowledge that evidential marking can be exploited in discourse to give rise to a range of pragmatic effects (cf. e.g. Aikhenvald 2004). Indirect

evidential marking encodes the existence of a physical distance between the event and the speaker, unable to access it directly. In many languages, the distance introduced by indirect evidentiality can be manipulated in order to achieve pragmatic effects related to the epistemic stance. These effects include mitigating responsibility for the information conveyed (Dickinson 1999; Aikhenvald 2004; Bruil 2014), or indicating the degree of speaker's involvement in the event described (Bergqvist, forthcoming; Jalava & Sandman 2012). This evokes a parallel between the use of evidential and egophoric (conjunct/disjunct) marking. Non-prototypical use of markers in both systems implies speaker's dissociation from the event described (Aikhenvald 2004; Dickinson 2000). This is illustrated with examples below: (5.1) shows the unmarked use of the congruent<sup>43</sup> marker in Tsafiki, where the speaker was acting volitionally and consciously. It contrasts with (5.1b), where the action was performed unintentionally:

(5.1) Tsafiki (Barbacoan, Ecuador)

- a.    la                   kuchi=ka       tote-yo-e  
       1MASC           pig =ACC   kill-CNGR-DECL  
       'I killed the pig.'
- b.    la                   kuchi=ka       tote-i-e  
       1MASC           pig=ACC    kill-NCNGR-DECL  
       'I killed the pig (unintentionally).'

Dickinson (2000: 412)

The non-congruent marker in (5.1b) indicates the lack of intentionality. It allows the speaker to distance himself from the action, despite having carried it out. A similar effect can be achieved through the use of indirect evidentiality:

(5.2) Wintu (Wintuan, Northern California)

- čoyiila -ke    ni  
 drunk -REP   I  
 'I am drunk (I hear).'/ 'They tell me I'm drunk.'

Willett (1988: 65)

---

<sup>43</sup> Dickinson (2000) uses the term congruent/non-congruent for the conjunct/disjunct type distinctions. She points out that the markers not only mark personal reference, but also indicate what is congruent/non-congruent with the speaker's knowledge. More recently, the term 'egophoricity' has been preferred over 'conjunct-disjunct' (e.g. Knuchel 2016; Floyd et al. 2016; Gawne forthcoming).

In (5.2), the use of REP+1SUBJ indicates that the speaker was not aware of his state. This collocation is used to achieve this pragmatic effect also in other evidential languages, including certain Quechuan varieties (Faller 2002: 190; Aikhenvald 2004: ch. 7), but not in TK, where the reportative does not occur.

In conjunct-disjunct systems, first person declarative clauses (5.3a) and second person interrogative clauses (5.3b) receive the same (congruent) marker:

(5.3) Tsafiki (Barbacoan, Ecuador)

- a.   sona                   muna-ra-**yo**-e  
       woman               desire:COV-BE.POSITION:GEN-**CNGR**-DECL  
       ‘(I) need a woman.’
- b.   ti                muna-ra-**yo**-n  
       what        desire:COV-BE.POSITION:GEN-**CNGR**-INT  
       ‘What do you need?’

Dickinson (2011: 3)

Such distribution of the congruent/conjunct marker is related to the ‘interrogative flip’ (cf. e.g. Speas & Tenny 2003), or ‘perceiver shift’ (e.g. Hargreaves 2005). In declaratives, the ‘epistemic source’ for the proposition is the speaker, whereas in interrogative clauses, it is the addressee (cf. Hargreaves 2005). The congruent marking in both (5.3a) and (5.3b) shows that in both cases, the type of ‘epistemic source’ is in line with the default epistemic source for a given sentence type. This shows that in egophoric (conjunct/disjunct) marking systems, the markers are not always anchored to the speaker. The perceiver shift also occurs in evidential systems (cf. e.g. Garrett 2001). In the literature on evidentiality, ‘the person from whose perspective a given evidential is evaluated’ has been labelled ‘origo’ (Garrett 2001: 15). In order to apply to other epistemic marking systems, this definition could be broadened to designate ‘the person from whose perspective a given expression is evaluated’ (e.g. Bühler 1990; Mushin 2001).<sup>44</sup> Evidential expressions establish a relationship between the origo and some state of affairs, by specifying the mode of

<sup>44</sup> In some literature (e.g. Hargreaves 2005; Bruil 2014), the label ‘epistemic authority’ refers to the same concept. In this thesis, I use the term ‘epistemic authority’ as synonymous with ‘epistemic primacy’ (cf. Stivers, Mondada & Steensig 2011). I discuss this in more detail in Section 5.1.2.

access/type of evidence the origo has for it. In that sense, evidentiality is a deictic category (e.g. Garrett 2001; Mushin 2001; Ifantidou 2001).

The pragmatic effects arising from the use of indirect evidentials with first person marking establish links between evidentiality and another category not discussed previously – mirativity. As shown in (5.1b) and (5.2) above, the physical distance encoded by indirect evidentiality can be exploited to give rise to an implicature of ‘psychological distance’ between the speaker and the event in which she participated (cf. e.g. Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986; Dickinson 1999; 2000; Nikolaeva 2000:sec. 5; Merin & Nikolaeva 2008). While physical distance means that the speaker simply did not witness the event, ‘psychological distance’ means that ‘speaker is in some way surprised at the event, is not expecting it, and the event happens in some uncontrolled way’ (Nikolaeva 2000: sec. 5). Narrowly defined evidentiality can express such distance indirectly, through pragmatic extensions. However, some languages encode it by means of mirativity: the ‘linguistic marking of the new and unexpected information’ (e.g. Delancey 1997; 2001; Aikhenvald 2004: chap. 6). Compare (5.1b) above with (5.4) below:

(5.4) Tsafiki (Barbacoan, Ecuador)

|           |                |                                 |
|-----------|----------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>la</i> | <i>kuchika</i> | <i>toteinue</i>                 |
| la        | kuchi=ka       | tote-i- <b>nu</b> -e            |
| 1MASC     | pig=ACC        | kill-NCNGR- <b>EV/MIR</b> -DECL |

‘I must have killed the pig (unintentionally).’

Dickinson (2000: 412)

The two examples constitute a minimal pair, only differing in the presence of the evidential/mirative marker in (5.4). In both cases, the non-congruent marker signifies that the speaker was not aware of the action of killing, despite being its agent. Moreover, the use of mirative marker in (5.4) indicates that the proposition expressed is unexpected or surprising to the speaker, who is inferring what happened, rather than evoking sensory evidence (Dickinson 2000: 417).

The pragmatic effects arising from the use of evidentials, including those discussed above, were among the issues that sparked interest in analysing evidential systems from pragmatic and discourse perspectives (e.g. Ifantidou 2001; Mushin 2001). The

body of research dedicated to evidentiality in social interaction has increased rapidly over the last decade (e.g. Michael 2008; Gipper 2011; Hanks 2012; Nuckolls & Michael 2012). A purely semantic account of evidentials was deemed insufficient to account for how they are used in discourse (cf. Michael 2008: sec.2.4; Gipper 2011: 10), given that the speaker's choice of an evidential is not necessarily motivated by the type of evidence she has for making a statement (cf. Mushin 2001). It was suggested that evidential marking can be analysed as a type of stance (cf. Mushin 2001; Bergqvist 2016), i.e. 'the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgements, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message' (Biber & Finegan 1989).

The pragmatic and discourse perspectives on evidentiality led to a number of definitions of the category being proposed in order to make its meaning better suited for the role it plays in interaction. Faller (2002; 2012) defines evidentiality as 'the encoding of the speaker's grounds for making a speech act, which in the case of assertion corresponds to the source of information'. Along similar lines, Michael (2008: 137) discusses evidentiality as marking 'the nature of speaker's sensory/cognitive access to the event in question'. The definition of evidentiality in terms of 'mode of access' rather than 'source of information' has been adopted in some studies of evidentiality in South American Indigenous languages (cf. Gipper 2011; Bruil 2014). This definition was argued to be more precise, since it focuses on a speaker-particular access to an event, rather than on the event itself. In Michael's understanding, one and the same event can be the 'source of information' acquired by different direct and indirect means (Michael 2008: 136-8). In my view, the 'mode of access' definition only acquires major explanatory power compared with the previous ones if the 'source of information' is equated with the event on which the speaker comments. However, if we assume, after e.g. Willet (1988) that the source of information/ evidence/knowledge is not the event itself, but the speaker's way of accessing it, e.g. through the senses, or verbal report, the two definitions yield the same explanatory power.

The advantage of thinking of evidentiality in terms of 'mode of access' is that this definition is more intuitively indexical, and thus facilitates the deictic interpretation of evidential marking as 'encoding speaker perspective' towards an event (cf. de

Haan 2005; Hanks 2012). The deictic interpretation of evidentiality emphasises the subjectivity and context-dependence of evidential expressions (cf. Floyd 1997; Nuckolls 2012). Like other systems of deixis, evidentials cannot be interpreted out of context, are ‘egocentric’, and encode subjective ‘speaker reference’ (Levinson 1983: ch.2). However, the emphasis solely on speaker perspective was challenged by recent research, which shows that the addressee perspective can also play a crucial role in defining evidential meanings (see also the discussion of *origo* above). This has been attested e.g. for Yukararé (Isolate, Bolivia, cf. Gipper 2011), Kogi (Chibchan, Colombia, cf. Bergqvist, submitted) and South Conchucos Quechua (QI, cf. Daniel J. Hintz 2012). Consequently, the descriptions of evidentials can benefit from adopting an *inter*-subjective perspective (cf. e.g. Nuyts 2001; Gipper 2011:10-12; Hintz & Hintz 2014; Bergqvist 2015). Analysing evidentiality and related categories from an inter-subjective perspective requires a more detailed discussion of the dimensions of knowledge and different participant roles in conversation, provided in Section 5.1.2).

Additional complexity related to delimiting the boundaries of evidentiality stems from the fact that it is not a syntactically or semantically homogenous category. Cross-linguistically, marking of the source of information does not operate on the same level of meaning, that is, it does not have a fixed position in the functional hierarchy (cf. e.g. Matthewson et al. 2006; Faller 2007: 18). The literature concerned with description of evidentiality on the syntax-semantics interface distinguishes two types of evidentials: ‘modal’ evidentials which contribute to truth conditions are distinguished from the ‘non-modal’ ones, which do not (cf. e.g. Faller 2002; Peterson 2010). The ‘modal’ evidentials make truth-conditional contribution to the meaning of utterances, and are analysed as propositional in Gricean pragmatic terms. The ‘non-modal’ evidentials do not contribute to truth-conditions, and therefore have most frequently been analysed as illocutionary operators (cf. e.g. Faller 2002:110-19; Peterson 2010: chap. 3). The Gricean propositional/illocutionary distinction parallels the relevance-theoretical division between propositional and procedural meaning (cf. Ifantidou 2001: chap. 7). However, it has also been suggested that the non-truth conditional evidentials be analysed not as illocutionary, but as clause-type modifiers (cf. Portner 2006). I discuss this proposal with regard to the TK ‘evidential’ markers in Section 5.3.

### 5.1.2 Epistemic meaning and the dimensions of knowledge

Epistemic modal, evidential, conjunct-disjunct/egophoric, or mirative marking systems discussed above encode different, but related aspects of the origo's relationship to the information conveyed by an utterance. Nonetheless, accurate semantic description of the TK 'evidential' enclitics requires exploring the origo-information relationship beyond these categories. To this end, I consider evidentiality and related categories in relation to the dimensions of knowledge in interaction (cf. Stivers et al. 2011: 13), presented in Figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1 Dimensions of knowledge**

- i. Epistemic access** (knowing vs. not knowing/ types of evidence/  
degree of certainty)
- ii. Epistemic primacy** (relative right to know/claim, authority of  
knowledge)
- iii. Epistemic responsibility** (obligations/rights to have information)

The three dimensions listed in Figure 5.1 correspond to the different 'levels' on which knowledge can be grounded in conversation. Evidentiality clearly falls within the dimension of 'epistemic access', since it relates to the origo's types of evidence for the proposition conveyed. Epistemic modality also falls within that domain, as related to the origo's degree of certainty.

The domain of epistemic primacy is more subjective than epistemic access. While epistemic access is concerned with the relationship between the proposition and the origo, epistemic primacy has to do with the distribution of knowledge between participants of the speech event. Epistemic primacy is the asymmetry 'in the depth, specificity or completeness of their [speech act participants] knowledge' (Stivers et al. 2011b: 13). Consequently, making of 'epistemic primacy' is grounded in the subjective assessment of the origo's knowledge state rather than in the relationship of that knowledge to the world. While epistemic primacy often arises as a result of having the best possible type of evidence for the information in question, or being certain that the proposition is true, it needs not be grounded in those parameters. Nonetheless, epistemic authority is independent from the speaker's evaluation of the



factuality of the proposition and, consequently, independent from the marking of epistemic modality.

Egophoric marking could be seen as operating on this level, since conjunct marking is compatible only with origo which has ‘epistemic privilege’ (Dickinson 2016), that is, in situations where the origo is also a primary actor in the situation, and hence has privileged access to the information about it. In Section 5.3, I show that the TK ‘evidential’ markers are also grounded in the domain of epistemic primacy, rather than epistemic access. In the remainder of this thesis, I use the term ‘epistemic authority’ as synonymous with epistemic primacy as defined above.<sup>45</sup>

The third domain – epistemic responsibility – is related to the information that the speaker has an obligation or a right to know. For instance, it is expected of everyone to know their own name etc. On the other hand, there is information about other people, their internal states and experiences, or private affairs, about which their interlocutors do not have a responsibility, or even a right, to possess knowledge. This last domain is akin to Kamio’s (1997) ‘Territory of Information’ (henceforth ToI). The types of information which fall within one’s default ToI are (i) internal direct experience, (ii) information within one’s professional expertise, (iii) information obtained through external direct experience including verbal reports, and considered reliable, (iv) information about persons, object, events and facts in one’s close environment, (v) information about oneself (Kamio 1997: 18). In terms of domains of knowledge introduced above, one has right to all the information listed above, but also a responsibility to be familiar with them. Other types of information can also become part of one’s ToI when they become integrated into one’s system of knowledge and beliefs, or, as Kamio (1997:11-2) puts it, when they are ‘digested and absorbed’. He claims that the pace of absorbing might depend on the type of information – more personal information tends to be absorbed sooner. Faller (2002) describes a similar process as relevant to the integration of information into the Best Possible Ground in Cuzco Quechua (see Section 5.2).

Although this has not been mentioned by the authors (cf. Stivers et al. 2011), the domains of epistemic primacy and epistemic responsibility correlate with one

---

<sup>45</sup> In some previous literature (e.g. Hargreaves 2005), ‘epistemic authority’ was used in the same sense in which I use the term ‘origo’ here.

another. It should be expected that the speaker has epistemic primacy over the information she also has an obligation, or right, to know.

The dimensions of knowledge discussed above relate mainly to the origo, and to the extent to which she can know, or claim to know, a piece of information. The only reference to the interpersonal aspect of context in the taxonomy in Figure 5.1 is the observation that epistemic primacy is ‘a relative right to know or claim’. The relative nature of epistemic primacy suggests that the origo’s interlocutor and his state of knowledge should also be taken into account. In line with this observation is the approach taken by Bergqvist (2015), who proposes to analyse evidentiality and other epistemic marking systems within the domain of ‘epistemic perspective’, encompassing not only the relationship of origo to information/knowledge, but also distribution of knowledge between the speech act participants. He uses the concept of ‘functional domain’ coined by Givón (1981) as a tool to compare and relate individual functions of linguistic items. A domain is a larger conceptual structure which can encompass several functions. Givón prefers ‘functional domains’ to ‘functions’, since the latter are often not totally discreet. The ‘functional domains’ are larger conceptual structures, and can overlap with one another, or encompass several levels of meaning (Bergqvist 2015: 11). Proposing the existence of the functional domain of ‘epistemic perspective’ is based on two assumptions. The first assumption is that evidentiality and related systems share a ‘functional space’ in the grammar of languages in which they occur. The second assumption is that these epistemic marking systems allow the speaker to adopt different ‘perspectives’ with respect to both information/knowledge, and their interlocutors (Bergqvist 2015: 11).

Before discussing epistemic perspective in more detail, it is necessary to introduce two notions at the core of the semantic and functional distinctions postulated by Bergqvist (2015): subjectivity and intersubjectivity. Subjectivity can be defined as

(...) the way in which natural languages, in their structure and their normal manner of operation, provide for the locutionary agent’s expression of himself and his own attitudes and beliefs.

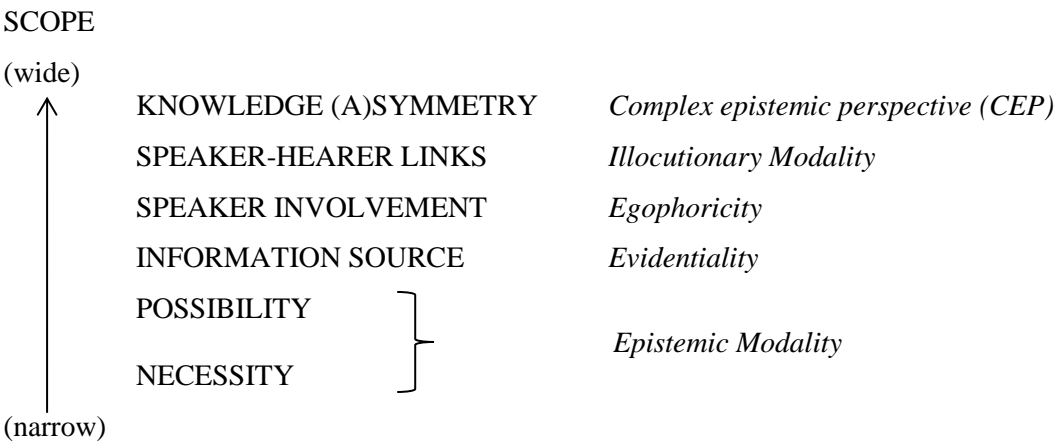
Lyons (1982: 102)

Understood in this manner, subjective expressions index the attitudes or viewpoint of the speaker/origo. A further evaluative dimension is introduced by distinguishing

subjective expression from intersubjective ones (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002). Intersubjective expressions are related to the speakers’ ‘acknowledgement of and attention to the addressee’ (Traugott 2010: 2). Consequently, intersubjective expressions take into account the attitudes of, or distribution of knowledge between, the speaker and the addressee.

The domain of epistemic perspective (Bergqvist 2015), encompassing the different categories of epistemic meaning, can be divided into different subdomains depending on the (inter)subjectivity of the meanings they express. Figure 5.2 shows this stratification:

**Figure 5.2 Dimensions of the ‘epistemic perspective’ domain**



Bergqvist (2015: 12)

As mentioned above, the notion of ‘epistemic perspective’ points to the fact that all the categories shown in Figure 5.2 are to some extent concerned with marking the (a)symmetries in access to information between the participants of discourse. From bottom to top, the different epistemic marking systems, shown on the right-hand side, are organised from the least to the most intersubjective. On the left-hand side, Figure 5.2 shows the different ‘functional domains’ corresponding the epistemic marking systems shown on the right. The arrow corresponds to the levels of meaning, based on the assumptions that the categories at the bottom of the scale encode more propositional meaning, and hence have narrower scope, and the categories towards the top encode non-propositional meaning. The marking of ‘complex epistemic perspective’ refers to the fully intersubjective systems, in the encoding of which the perspectives of both participants of the interaction are equally important. Figure 5.2

is based on a preliminary cross-linguistic survey, including the grammatical categories attested in a sample of languages with epistemic marking systems (Bergqvist 2015). The number of functional domains – and corresponding grammaticalised marking systems – is bound to increase if other languages are taken into account. Examples of such systems could include the marking of engagement (cf. e.g. Landaburu 2007) or ‘information status’ of discourse participants (cf. San Roque 2008).

Cross-linguistically, much further research is needed to establish whether the dimensions of knowledge presented in Figure 5.1 are grammatically marked, and how they can be incorporated into the ‘epistemic perspective domain’ shown in Figure 5.2. However, for individual languages, some of the relevant information is already available. In Japanese, ‘epistemic primacy’ is encoded by dedicated morphology, namely the marker *yo* (Hayano 2011). In Section 5.3, I show that epistemic primacy is also morphologically marked in TK, where the distribution of epistemic authority between speaker and addressee is encoded by *=mi* and *=cha*. Therefore, at least for certain languages, including TK, epistemic primacy should be considered one of the ‘functional domains’ of epistemic perspective. I come back to this proposal in Section 6.4.

### **5.1.3 Semantic distinctions within the evidential domain**

This section describes the semantic distinctions which have been postulated within the domain of evidentiality, defined as the linguistic marking of the ‘source of evidence’ for a proposition.

In his influential cross-linguistic survey of evidential systems, Willett (1988) examined data from 38 languages with grammaticalised evidentiality. On the basis of that data, he proposed the taxonomy of sources of evidence presented below in Table 5.1. Aikhenvald (2004) distinguished the same types of sources of evidence in her broader cross-linguistic survey of over 500 languages.

**Table 5.1 Taxonomy of sources of evidence**

|                                 |          |                        |             |
|---------------------------------|----------|------------------------|-------------|
| Direct / Attested <sup>46</sup> |          | Visual                 |             |
|                                 |          | Auditory               |             |
|                                 |          | Other sensory          |             |
| Indirect                        | Reported | Hearsay                | Second-hand |
|                                 |          |                        | Third-hand  |
|                                 |          | Folklore               |             |
|                                 | Inferred | Results (inference)    |             |
|                                 |          | Reasoning (conjecture) |             |

Adapted from Willett (1988); Aikhenvald (2004)

Of the distinctions presented above, the least intuitive one is that between inference and conjecture. In Willett's (1988: 96) terms, inference from results occurs when the speaker perceives observable results of an event/action. Conjecture occurs when 'the speaker infers the situation described on the basis of intuition, logic, a dream, previous experience, or some other mental construct'.

The taxonomy presented in Table 5.1 was envisaged as a model for the possible types of evidential distinction made cross-linguistically, extrapolating from those found in the languages of the sample. The prediction this particular taxonomy makes about the possible evidential systems is that one marker cannot be used to code types of evidence that belong to different overarching types. That means that while we can expect a marker that would encompass inference and reportative evidence, the taxonomy does not predict a marker that would encode both non-visual sensory and reportative evidence. Nonetheless, Plungian (2001) observed that in some evidential systems, the main distinction is made not between direct and indirect, but between reported and non-reported evidence. This led him to postulate that the 'degree of

<sup>46</sup> Willett (1988) is not clear about the distinction between Direct and Attested. Faller (2002: 48) remarks that distinguishing between the two might have to do with language-specific terminological differences, which, however, does not suffice to postulate two different categories of evidence. Hence the conflation of Direct and Attested in Table 5.1.

personal involvement’<sup>47</sup> should be considered as an organising parameter of evidential systems (Plungian 2001; cf. Faller 2002: 49-50). This proposal is in line with more recent pragmatic/interactional studies of evidential systems (see Section 5.1.1).

Faller (2002: sec. 2.3) follows up on Plungian’s proposal and re-organises the evidential taxonomy so as to better reflect the problematic data. She proposes that direct evidence and evidence based on reasoning are not entirely distinct, and that we should instead think of personal evidence ‘as a cline of increasing amounts of reasoning from evidence’ (Faller 2002: 50). The evidential distinctions proposed by Faller have proven effective for the description of the evidential system of Cuzco Quechua (cf. Faller 2002), and are also partially relevant to the description of the evidential system of Tena Kichwa (see Section 5.3).

Following de Haan’s (1998) scalar ordering of evidential types for individual languages, Faller (2002) proposes that the cross-linguistic taxonomy of evidence types can be regarded as a scale. Typically, linguistic scales give rise to implicatures as a result of entailment relation of degree of informativeness (Faller 2002: 72). Faller suggests that for evidential scales, implicatures are triggered by the ‘degrees of strength of evidence’ (2002:73). She also argues that, unlike other linguistic scales, the evidential scale cannot be thought of as linear if it is to be cross-linguistically applicable (see Faller 2002: 62-70 for discussion). She bases her conclusion on the fact that the ordering of inferential and reportative evidence with respect to one another seems to pattern differently in language-specific evidential systems.

Faller suggests that the types of evidence should be ordered on two separate clines, based on two types of directness: one measured by ‘the amount of inference involved in reaching the conclusion’, and the other, by the number of intervening speakers:

---

<sup>47</sup> Involvement was also judged as relevant to marking of egophoricity and mirativity (Hargreaves 2005; Creissels 2008; Knuchel 2016), discussed in Section 5.1.1)

### Figure 5.3 Evidence clines

#### a. The Personal Evidence Cline:

performative > visual > auditory > other sensory > inference from results > reasoning > assumption

#### b. The Mediated Evidence Cline:

direct > (learning) > secondhand > thirdhand > hearsay/folklore

Adapted from Faller (2002: 70)

The ordering relation in both clines is based on directness. For personal evidence, the directness is defined as an amount of reasoning involved in arriving at the conclusion. For mediated evidence, directness is defined in terms of the number of intervening speakers (if ‘learning’ is excluded, see below). Implicatures arise within each cline separately, and Faller postulates that the two clines should ultimately be joined together, but it is not clear where the linking should occur.

In the Mediated Evidence Cline, the category of ‘learning’ is included in parenthesis. This is due to the fact that if we include ‘learning’ as an evidential type (cf. Givón 1982), it can no longer be based on the number of ‘intervening’ speakers. However, in a number of languages, including Cuzco Quechua, the direct evidential can also be used to mark knowledge acquired through learning. So the cline including learning does make a correct prediction. Further research is needed to consistently account for such ordering of mediated evidence (Faller 2002: 53). However, it seems that learning is more easily included in the category of mediated evidence if we think about it, not in terms of numbers of intervening sources, but in terms of how well the information is integrated into the speaker’s worldview (cf. e.g. Givón 1982).

## 5.2 Evidentiality in Quechuan languages

This section presents the current scholarship on Quechua evidentiality and examines the extent to which the findings reported for other varieties can be applied to the ‘evidential’ markers in Tena Kichwa. Firstly, I discuss the linguistic expressions of evidentiality in the different Quechuan dialects (5.2.1). Subsequently, I focus on the

previous analyses of the semantics and pragmatics of direct and indirect evidentiality in the Quechuan varieties described to date (5.2.2).<sup>48</sup>

### 5.2.1 The Quechuan evidential paradigm

Most of the described Quechuan varieties make a three-way evidential distinction between direct, conjectural/inferential and reported source of information. Prior to the evidential analyses, the markers in question were interpreted e.g. as ‘comment of clause’ (Parker 1969) or ‘validation’: indicating the speaker’s epistemic judgement (Adelaar 1977; Cole 1982; Lefebvre & Muysken 1988).

Since Weber’s (1986) study of the enclitics’ function in Huánuco Quechua (QI), they have predominantly been analysed as evidential markers (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002; Hintz 2012; Howard 2012). However, previous analyses were not entirely dismissed. Across the varieties, Quechua ‘evidential’ markers do not fit in with the ‘narrow’ definition of evidentiality as only marking the source of information. The Quechuan evidential markers were interpreted as indicating the speaker’s source of information as well as: epistemic judgement (e.g. Weber 1986; Nuckolls 1993; Floyd 1997; Adelaar 1997), illocutionary force (Faller 2002; Nuckolls 2012), speaker subjectivity (Howard 2012; Nuckolls 2012), or distinction between individual and shared knowledge (D.J. Hintz 2012; Howard 2012). In some varieties, certain markers were analysed as purely evidential, while other were considered to be more validational in nature (e.g. Adelaar 1977; Faller 2002).

Most Quechuan varieties exhibit a three-way distinction between direct, conjectural/inferential and reported evidence. The paradigm is illustrated with examples from Cuzco Quechua in Figure 5.4 below:

---

<sup>48</sup> Since the reportative marker does not occur in TK (see Section 5.2.1), it is only discussed when relevant to the analyses of the direct and indirect enclitics.



**Figure 5.4 Quechuan evidential paradigm (based on Cuzco Quechua, QII)**

- a. Direct/best possible ground =*mi*  
para-sha -n=**mi**  
rain-PROG-3=**mi**  
*It is raining.* [speaker sees that it's raining]
- b. Inferential/conjectural =*chá*  
Para-sha-n=**chá**.  
rain-PROG-3=**chá**  
*It is raining.* [speaker conjectures that it's raining]
- c. Reportative =*si*  
Para-sha-n=**si**.  
rain-PROG-3 =**si**  
*It is raining.* [speaker was told that it's raining]

Adapted from Faller (2002: 122)

The enclitic =*mi* was analysed by Faller (2002) as the marker of ‘best possible ground’. It corresponds to direct evidence if the information in question belongs to the speaker’s own life experience. However, in case of encyclopaedic knowledge, which tends to be learnt from authority rather than through direct experience, the ‘best possible ground’ can correspond to reportative evidence (see Section 5.2.2.1). Authors describing other Quechuan varieties report a range of cognates of the markers listed above (cf. e.g. Nuckolls 1993: 228; Manley 2015: sec. 5).

Although most described Quechuan languages have a tripartite evidential distinction, recent studies show that the number of evidential markers varies across dialects. South Conchucos Quechua (QI) is reported to have five evidential markers (Daniel J. Hintz 2012; Hintz & Hintz 2014). Six markers have been described for Sihuas Quechua (QI) (Diane Hintz 2012; Hintz & Hintz 2014), and Huamalíes Quechua (Howard 2012), both closely related to South Conchucos. In these varieties, the speaker’s choice of evidential is influenced not only by the type of evidence, but also by the distribution of knowledge between discourse participants (see Section 6.3). All these systems have the direct, indirect and reportative markers. In addition, South Conchucos has markers asserting mutual knowledge and indicating shared conjecture

(Hintz & Hintz 2014). Sihuas has a system of three contrastive pairs, indicating the distinctions between individual and mutual knowledge, individual and shared conjecture and individual knowledge from report vs generalised knowledge from reported information (Hintz & Hintz 2014). In Huamalíes, the non-standard markers indicate speculation, affirmation of knowledge co-constructed by the speaker and the addressee and negation of such knowledge<sup>49</sup> (Howard 2012). In the above systems, the markers do not correspond strictly to source of information – the use of ‘individual’ vs ‘shared’ knowledge markers is also influenced by the speaker’s opinion about whether she has epistemic authority over the information conveyed (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 8). Epistemic authority in particular is relevant to the description of the ‘evidential’ markers in TK (see Section 5.3).

In all the varieties discussed above, the evidential paradigm consisted of three or more markers. However, in some varieties, including Imbabura Quechua (QII) (Cole 1982: 164-5), spoken in the Ecuadorian Highlands, and in TK, reports are marked periphrastically by means of the verb *ni-* (‘say’) rather than by the use of a dedicated marker. Interestingly, the reportative marker is attested in the Pastaza Quichua (QII) (Nuckolls 1993; 2012), which is related to TK more closely than the highland Imbabura variety. Cole (1982: 165) observes that while the marker *-shi* is attested in Imbabura, it seems to have undergone semantic shift from marking hearsay to marking speculation.

In the TK data, the reportative marker seems to have been replaced by a periphrastic construction, whereby the verb of speech *ni-* (‘say’) is used in all hearsay/reportative contexts as a marker of reported speech, and the speech complements are often marked by the enclitic *=mi*. I discuss the reportative constructions of this type in Section 5.3.3.4.

## 5.2.2 Previous analyses of Quechua evidential semantics

In Section 5.2.1, I introduced the evidential paradigms postulated for different Quechuan varieties. Here, I discuss the semantics of the direct (5.2.2.1) and indirect

---

<sup>49</sup> In Howard’s (2012) terms, co-constructed knowledge results from the exchange of information between the speaker and the addressee. This is different from Hintz and Hintz’s (2014) ‘shared knowledge’, understood as knowledge shared by participants, acquired either via linguistic exchange, or shared non-linguistic experience. The latter understanding is more in line with widely accepted definitions of common ground (see Section 4.1.1).

(5.2.2.2) markers. In order to contextualise this discussion, I first briefly introduce the theoretical and analytical perspectives adopted in the previous studies of Quechuan evidentiality.

Weber (1986) presented the first descriptive account of the Quechuan evidential paradigm, using data from central Peruvian varieties, mainly Huánuco Quechua (QI). He considered the markers to be primarily evidential, with their epistemic readings stemming from Quechuan cultural axioms (see Section 5.2.2.1). Floyd (1997) examined Wanka Quechua (QI) evidential semantics from the cognitive linguistics point of view, seeing each evidential as a ‘radial category’, encoding one central meaning, but also used to convey other meanings that ‘are not strictly predictable from the central case but are cultural products’ (Evans & Green 2006: 276). In Floyd’s (1997) interpretation, the evidence-marking meaning of Quechua evidential enclitics arises from primarily epistemic schema, having to do with certainty (see Section 5.2.1) and attenuation (see Section 5.2.2.2). A similar analysis of the evidential paradigm comes from the tradition of linguistic anthropology (Nuckolls 1993; 2012; Howard 2012). Both Nuckolls (1993; 2012) and Howard (2012) argue for revisiting the evidential analysis in favour of an assertive/speaker subjectivity interpretation of the paradigm.

Faller (2002) takes a formal semantics/pragmatics approach to the analysis of the Cuzco Quechua evidentials. According to her interpretation, evidentials are illocutionary modifiers, and, with the exception of the inferential/conjectural, do not contribute to the at-issue content of utterances. In line with Floyd’s (1997: 82) observations, she claims that evidentially unmarked utterances implicate that the speaker has sufficient evidence to use a direct evidential, but the statement made without one are slightly weaker than those marked by the direct *=mi* (Faller 2002: 23-4)<sup>50</sup>.

As mentioned in Section 5.2.1, the reportative marker which could be analysed as a cognate of the Cuzco Quechua *-si* does not occur in the TK data. However, it is prudent to briefly mention how the reportative has been analysed in the varieties

---

<sup>50</sup> This contrasts to some extent with the findings presented by Manley (2015:172). She asked Cuzco Quechua native speaker to evaluate 6 sentences with respect to the degree of certainty of the speaker, and the one containing only the PST tense *-rqa* was evaluated as conveying higher certainty than the one with *-rqa* and *=mi*.

where it does occur. According to all its descriptions, the reportative/hearsay marker serves to indicate all types of reported information (e.g. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002). Weber (1986) and Floyd (1997) both claim that the reportative is of a distinct semantic nature than the direct and indirect evidentials. In their interpretation, reports, being detached from speaker responsibility, do not express a validational/epistemic meaning encoded by the direct and indirect markers (see Sections 5.2.2.1 and 5.2.2.2). Faller analyses the reportative as an illocutionary force modifier, changing the force of an utterance from asserting a proposition, to presenting a proposition uttered by someone else (cf. Faller 2002: 188-204). Under this analysis, the Cuzco Quechua reportative is ‘modally neutral’, that is, it does not encode the speaker’s judgement about whether the presented proposition is a possibility (Faller 2002: 23). Bruil (2014: 45-9) claims that the CQ reportative should be analysed as modifying the sentential force of a clause, rather than the illocutionary force of an utterance. The adequacy of this proposal for the description of TK ‘evidential’ enclitics is considered in more detail in Section 5.3.5.

### 5.2.2.1 Previous analyses: *=mi*

The ‘direct’ enclitic *=mi* has been described as the semantically most complex member of the Quechuan evidential paradigm. Various analyses point out that its meaning is related to direct evidence and/or the epistemic stance certainty, but vary with respect to which of these meanings are encoded, and which are merely indicated by the marker (cf. Parker 1969; Adelaar 1977; Weber 1986; Adelaar 1997; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002).

Weber (1986) analyses *=mi* as encoding the evidential meaning of ‘learnt by direct experience’. He claims that *=mi* can give rise to the implicature of certainty due to the Quechua cultural axiom according to which ‘(only) one’s own experience is reliable’ (Weber 1986: 138). Faller (2002: ch. 4) points out that although such an axiom is intuitively correct, there are situations which call it into question, such as mistaken perceptions etc. She points out that *=mi* is often used to mark propositions which could not have been directly experienced by the speakers, such as future events, or internal states of others. Such usage is also possible in TK, as demonstrated in (5.5a) and (5.5b) below. Example (5.5c) is of another context where the use of *=mi* is pervasive despite the lack of direct experience, namely, in case of

(religious) beliefs. Such beliefs are not based on any kind of experience and are conveyed by hearsay, but always expressed in *=mi*-marked statements.

(5.5)

- a. *=mi* with future events

Presidente      shu      semana=**mi**      shamu-nga      ra-w-n  
 president      one      week      =**mi**      come-FUT      AUX-PROG-3  
 ‘[The] president will come next week.’

el\_18092014\_01 026

- b. *=mi* with internal states of others

Karolina      llaki-ri-shka=**mi**      [tia-w-n]  
 NAME      be.sad-ANTIC-ANT=**mi**      [exist-PROG-3]  
 ‘Karolina is sad.’ [speaker ≠ Karolina]

el\_18092014\_01 010

- c. *=mi* with religious beliefs

Yaya      Dios      kawsa-n=**mi**  
 father      god      live      -3=**mi**  
 ‘God lives/exists.’

el\_18092014\_01 025

The issues related to reliability of direct experience have been discussed at length by Faller (2002), and I relate to them below. The examples in (5.5) show that Weber’s analysis of *=mi* as always encoding direct experience cannot be upheld. I also find the assumption that the epistemic reading should arise from ‘cultural axioms’ particular to the Quechua culture deeply problematic. It is not clear on what grounds Weber (1986) postulates those culture-specific norms of behaviour, since the only source he mentions is the content of folktales.

Weber regards the validational meaning of *=mi* as secondary to the evidential one. Nuckolls (1993) takes a different view, analysing the marker’s meaning as primarily assertive, with the secondary direct evidence meaning arising from it in certain contexts. However, this fails to account for the occurrence of *=mi* in interrogative clauses in TK:

(5.6) = (4.79)

Ima shuti=**mi** ?

what name=**mi**

‘What is her name?’ [to someone who knows the person in question]

in\_20092013\_03 216

Another argument presented by Nuckolls in favour of the assertive analysis is that =*mi* occurs in paradigmatic contrast with the Q/NEG particle =*chu*. As I show in Chapter 4, the distributions of the two markers is better explained in terms of the focus function of =*mi* than its assertive meaning. Not every yes/no question marked with =*chu* is answered with a =*mi*-marked clause, nor are answers to yes/no questions the only context in which =*mi* occurs. In more recent work, Nuckolls (2012; cf. also Howard 2012) also discusses the deictic meaning of =*mi* as a marker of speaker subjectivity, distinguishing the speaker’s assertion from somebody else’s. She bases this analyses on the contrast between =*mi* and the reportative =*shi*, which, as discussed above, does not occur in TK.

Floyd’s (1997) account of the meaning of =*mi* is similar to Nuckolls’ in that he sees the direct-evidence marking as but one of the instantiations of a wider meaning of the marker. Under his prototype-theoretical analysis, the most abstract, schematic meaning of =*mi* is certainty. It plays a role in all its uses, including the most common, prototypical one: marking of direct evidence. Floyd sees that prototypical meaning of =*mi* as derived from the fact that certainty is most often based on direct evidence. Nonetheless, he also shows that =*mi* can encode speaker certainty in the absence of such evidence (1997: 68-85), as shown in (5.7):

(5.7) Wanka Quechua (QI)

- a. chay-pii **-mi** papaa-nii-si chraki palta-n nana-y-ta  
that-ABL-**DIR** father-1POSS-also foot palm-3POSS hurt-INF-ACC  
allayku -yku-la  
being-ASP-PST

‘That is why/when the bottom of my father’s foot began to hurt.’

- b.    mana-**m**                chay    ya'a-pa-chu  
       not -**mi**                that    I-GEN-NEG  
       'That [the child] is not mine.'
- c.    kiija-ka-mu-shraa-**mi**                ka-n-si  
       sue-REF-AFAR<sup>51</sup>-1FUT-**mi**    be-3-even  
       'I'll sue.'

Floyd (1997: 69-76)

Floyd explains examples in (5.7) by invoking a variety of 'mitigating circumstances' to account for speaker certainty in the absence of direct evidence. He claims that (5.7a) can be explained by 'psychological proximity' between the speaker and the subject of their utterance (cf. Aksu-Koç & Slobin 1986). The speaker is recounting an event that happened before she was born, and =*mi* indicates that she considers the story a 'valid and true' reason for her father's currently observable condition (Floyd 1997: 70). According to Floyd, in case of (5.7b) the speaker is the alleged father of a baby that has not yet been born, and therefore cannot have direct evidence for the child not being his. Floyd interprets this use of =*mi* as showing the speaker's willingness to convey certainty, so as to increase the argumentative force of his utterance. In (5.7c), certainty is derived from the fact that the speaker assumes to have control over his future actions, and intends to perform the action he describes. The direct marker occurs in contexts shown in (5.7) across Quechuan varieties, including Tena Kichwa. Faller (2002) accounts for these in a more uniform manner with the concept of 'best possible ground', which I discuss below.

Faller (2002) points out another problem with the analyses proposed by Nuckolls (1993) and Floyd (1997). She remarks that if the most general meaning of =*mi* is that of assertiveness (cf. Nuckolls 1993) or certainty (cf. Floyd 1997), it should be possible to 'impose' this general meaning on the situation irrespective of the speaker's source of evidence. This, however, is possible in cases such as those in (5.7), but not in (5.8), where the speaker needs to obtain the information from Inés herself. This observation also holds for TK.

---

<sup>51</sup> Floyd (1997) glosses -*mu* as meaning 'afar' or 'far' – cognate of TK cislocative suffix.

(5.8) Cuzco Quechua (QII)

Inés-qa llakiku-n-**mi**.

Inés-TOP be.sad-3 -**mi**

‘Inés is sad.’ [Inés told speaker that she is sad]

Faller (2002: 127)

Faller explains the felicitous use of =*mi* in (5.7) and (5.8) by extending the notion of direct evidence to what she calls ‘best possible ground’ (henceforth BPG) for making an assertion (2002: sec. 4.3). She accurately remarks that there is a fundamental difference between ‘personal’ and ‘encyclopedic’ information<sup>52</sup>, as mentioned in the discussion of evidence clines in Section 5.1.3. Personal knowledge, related to a person’s life and their immediate environment, is acquired through direct experience, but can also be divided into observable and not observable events, the latter including e.g. emotional states of others etc. (Faller 2002: 132). Consequently, given the possible access modes are different, the best possible source of information differs for those two types of events. If events are not observable for the speaker, as in (5.8), what counts as best possible source of information is a report of a person who was somehow involved in the event. This explains why =*mi* in (5.8) is infelicitous unless the information was obtained from Inés herself. The acquisition of ‘encyclopedic’ information, on the other hand, does not require direct evidence, since that sort of knowledge is mostly acquired by learning.

It follows from the above discussion that directness of the source of information is a gradable property of events (Faller 2002: 131) and that the evidential value of =*mi* is broader than just encompassing direct evidence. For personal knowledge, the BPG is direct evidence, but for encyclopedic knowledge, it does not have to be (Faller 2002: 135). Under Faller’s view, having the best possible source of information is a necessary, but not sufficient condition to make a =*mi*-marked statement. In order to felicitously use =*mi*, the speaker needs to have the BPG for making a statement. Apart from having the best possible source of information, this also means having assimilated the proposition into one’s network of beliefs (Faller 2002: 140-1). In

---

<sup>52</sup> Note that Faller does not equate ‘encyclopaedic information’ with ‘a priori synthetic knowledge’ as defined by Givón (1982). Unlike the a priori synthetic knowledge, encyclopaedic knowledge is challengeable and is not necessarily common ground within a culture or even among the participants of a speech event (cf. Faller 2002: 54, 134).



Section 5.3.3.2, I show that the fact of having assimilated the knowledge is of particular importance in the analysis of *=mi* in TK.

Faller analyses *=mi* as a non-truth conditional BPG evidential (2002: 154-5). She claims that the high degree of certainty associated with *=mi* arises because of the properties of assertive utterances, which require the speaker to believe in the proposition expressed, and not because of the semantics of *=mi*. She chooses to analyse the CQ evidentials within the framework of Gricean pragmatics, which non-truth conditional elements like *=mi* can operate (cf. Portner 2006), and leads her to conclude that *=mi* should be analysed as an illocutionary operator that adds a sincerity condition to the utterances it modifies (Faller 2002: 157). The sincerity condition added by *=mi* requires that as well as believing the asserted proposition (property of assertions in general), the speaker also has the BPG for believing it. According to Faller, this change in sincerity conditions is perceived by the addressee as making the utterance stronger, and *=mi* is often used in situations where the speaker reacts to, or anticipates, a challenge from his interlocutor.

In order to utter an evidentially unmarked assertion, the speaker needs to believe that the proposition expressed is true (cf. Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990; Portner 2004; Portner 2009). Faller claims that unmarked assertion implicates that the speaker has the BPG for making a statement, but that only *=mi*-marked assertions encode BPG, which is a part of the lexical meaning of *=mi*. Under this analysis of *=mi*, examples in (5.5a), (5.5b) and (5.7) can be accounted for without the need of invoking cultural axioms (cf. Weber 1986), or assertive meaning (cf. Nuckolls 1993). Example (5.5c), where *=mi* occurs on the statement of religious belief, can be explained by the irrelevance of evidence to religious belief (Faller 2002: 132).

According to Faller (2002: sec.6.3.2), the use of *=mi* in content questions, exemplified in (5.6) above, can be explained in two ways: *=mi* can be ‘anchored to the speaker’, or ‘anchored to the hearer’ (cf. Aikhenvald 2004: 242-48). In Section 5.3.3.3, I show that in TK interrogatives *=mi* also undergoes perceiver shift.

To sum up, Faller’s analysis of the direct evidential as encoding the BPG convincingly does away with additional assumptions needed to account for its usage in cases where speakers lack direct sensory evidence. However, as she herself admits,

the analysis of the marker as an illocutionary modifier of sincerity conditions fails to account for the distributional restrictions of *=mi*, namely the impossibility of occurrence in imperative clauses, since a modifier of sincerity conditions should be able to occur in all types of speech acts. Faller claims that *=mi*-marked assertions are perceived emphatically because of their greater illocutionary strength. In this case, it is also unclear how to account for *=mari*, which she analyses as the ‘emphatic’ version of the direct marker.

Another analysis of *=mi* which is relevant to the description of the TK *=mi* is the description of the marker in Souch Conchucos Quechua (henceforth SCQ). SCQ has a five-value evidential system, making a distinction between individual or shared direct evidence, and individual or shared conjecture (Hintz & Hintz 2014). Since the SCQ *-mi* only marks individual direct knowledge, it does not communicate general knowledge, as in CQ, but rather is used to ‘specify the exclusion of the perspective of the addressee and confer expert status on the speaker’ (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 15). This analysis shows that the semantics of the SCQ *-mi* is very similar to the epistemic primacy analyses of the TK *=mi* proposed in this thesis.

### 5.2.2.2 Previous analyses: *=cha*

The ‘inferential/conjectural evidential’ enclitic *=cha* has been analysed as ‘conjectural’ (Weber 1986; Faller 2002), ‘inferential’ (Floyd 1997) or ‘dubitative’ (Muysken 1995) in the different Quechuan varieties. Despite the different labels, in all the varieties for which it has been described, the marker is reported to cover indirect evidence based both on reasoning and conjecture (see Section 5.1.3), as shown in the Cuzco Quechua examples below:

#### (5.9) Inference (from observable facts)

|           |       |              |                  |           |
|-----------|-------|--------------|------------------|-----------|
| Chhaynaqa | hatun | mama-n-pa    | wasi-n-pi-chá    | ka-sha-n  |
| so        | great | mother-3-GEN | house-3-LOC-CONJ | be-PROG-3 |

‘So he must be at his grandmother’s house.’

Context: We want to know where Juan is. I have called his house and was told that he was going to go to the library and afterwards to visit his grandmother. I am just coming from the library and Juan wasn’t there.

Faller (2007: 4)

(5.10) Conjecture (from reasoning)

|       |        |           |                |
|-------|--------|-----------|----------------|
| Suqta | chunka | wata-yuq  | ka-sha-n-chá.  |
| Six   | ten    | year-POSS | be-PROG-3-CONJ |

‘He must be sixty years (old).’

Faller (2007: 4)

Weber (1986) analyses the Huánuco Quechua *=chi* as encoding conjecture, but does not discuss the notion in more detail. Instead, he points out that *=chi*-marked statements are a useful way of avoiding committing oneself to the truth of one’s utterance. He also mentions that the conjectural marker cannot initiate conversation, and that it is used to mark a query, as well as for a range of discursive effects, including irony and sarcasm. These observations do not apply to the Tena Kichwa *=cha*, apart from one – that the marker can be used to query the addressee.

Floyd (1997: chap.5) analyses the meaning of the Wanka Quechua *-chr(a)* as prototypically indicating the that utterance is an inference. The prototypical meaning of the marker is attenuation in the domain of commitment, which ‘equates non-incorporation into reality (...) and is encoded in terms of likelihood values’ (Floyd 1997: 106). He further claims that the non-prototypical uses of *=chr(a)* have to do with attenuation in other domains. According to Floyd, those domains include e.g. ‘psychological distance between the addressee and the proposition’, which results in second person future clauses marked with *=chr(a)* to be interpreted as ‘mild exhortations’, which, unlike the *=mi*-marked clauses, place the addressee under no obligation to answer. He also reports that the marker is used to achieve the rhetorical effect of irony, and in utterances similar to rhetorical questions. Thus, the range of discourse effects he reports for the conjectural marker is similar to those mentioned by Weber (1986). While uses of *=cha* in irony have not been attested in the TK corpus, the marker does occur in rhetorical questions (see Section 4.5.4 and 5.3.4).

Although Floyd does not use that term, the fact that he analyses the marker as encoding commitment to the likelihood of propositions amounts to an evidential/modal analysis, which is the one that Faller (2002; 2007) proposes in her work on Cuzco Quechua. According to Faller, the conjectural marker is the only CQ evidential that is both an evidential and an epistemic modal. The evidential meaning

of *=chá* is to indicate that the speaker ‘bases his or her statement on a mental process’, be it inference, conjecture, guesswork or any other process involving reasoning (Faller 2002: 176). However, if the speaker bases her statement on partial direct evidence, *-chus hina*, which occurs in complementary distribution with other evidential enclitics (Faller 2006), is preferred over *-chá*:

(5.11)

Context: Marya looks very pale.

- a.    ?Unqu-sqa-chá                      ka-sha-n-man  
           sick-PRT-CONJ                      be-PROG-3-COND  
           ‘She may be sick.’
  
- b.    Unqu-sqa-chus hina      ka-sha-n-man  
           sick-PRT-RES              be-PROG-3-COND  
           ‘She appears to be sick.’

Faller (2007: 4)

The marker *-chus hina/chu shina* means roughly ‘*I guess*’, ‘*I think*’, ‘*apparently*’ (Faller 2006: 3). Its distribution and translation suggest it might function in similar contexts as the *=mi yachin* (*=mi seem-3*) construction in TK (see Section 5.3.3.4).

In CQ, *-chá* cannot be used if the speaker is certain that the proposition is true or false, even if she arrived at that conclusion through reasoning (Faller 2007: 5). This supports the epistemic modal analysis of *-chá*. For a *-chá*-marked proposition to be felicitous, the speaker needs to believe in the possibility that the proposition expressed is true, as well as having arrived at that belief by her own reasoning.

In Faller’s view, *-chá* is an illocutionary modifier of ‘evidential sincerity conditions’, adding to them that the speaker has arrived at the proposition by his own reasoning. As an epistemic modal, *-chá* also adds a possibility operator to the proposition expressed (cf. Faller 2002: sec. 5.2; 2007). From the illocutionary operator analysis, it follows that *-chá* does not contribute to the truth-conditional meaning of propositions, which is confirmed by its embeddability and scope properties (see Section 5.3.4.1). The marker is not embeddable in conditional antecedents, cannot scope under negation, and cannot be part of a questioned proposition (cf. Faller

2007). She further suggests that *-chá* and other CQ illocutionary modifiers, including the other two evidentials, operate on the speech act weaker than assertion, i.e. on the act of putting the proposition forward, and that assertion arises if the proposition which is put forward is not subject to illocutionary modification (cf. Faller 2007). Faller (2007) also contrasts the CQ *-chá* with two ‘pure’ epistemic modal enclitics: the conditional *-man* and the certainty enclitic *-puni*. As far as the data show, neither of these are attested in TK.

As shown in the previous paragraphs, all the current accounts of the indirect/inferential evidential point to the marker encoding inference based on different types of reasoning, as well as having an epistemic modal meaning. However, there are important distributional differences between the inferential markers in the varieties discussed above, and in TK. In Section 5.3.4, I show that the accounts given above only partially correspond to the semantics of the TK *=cha*.

### 5.3 Semantics of the ‘evidential’ markers in Tena Kichwa

In the preceding section, I discussed the different analyses of the Quechuan evidential paradigm. I now turn to the TK cognates of the direct (*=mi*) and indirect (*=cha*) evidential markers. First, I demonstrate that there is little alignment between the hierarchies of sources of information presented in Section 5.1.3 and the distribution of *=mi* and *=cha* in TK (5.3.1). Following on from that, I briefly define the notions of sentential and illocutionary force (5.3.2). Consequently, I discuss the meaning of *=mi* (5.3.3) and *=cha* (5.3.4), proposing that in TK they encode the origo’s epistemic primacy (*=mi*) or lack thereof (*=cha*). Lastly, I discuss the level of meaning on which the TK epistemic primacy markers contribute to the clause (5.3.5).

#### 5.3.1 Evidential hierarchies and the TK ‘evidential’ markers

In this section, I compare the distribution of TK *=mi* and *=cha* in propositions carrying different evidential values with that of their cognates from other Quechuan varieties (see Section 5.2). This comparison demonstrates that TK *=mi* and *=cha* do not align with direct/best possible evidence and indirect evidence, respectively. If *=mi* and *=cha* encoded evidential meanings, their distribution with respect to

different sources of evidence should be similar to that presented in Figure 5.4 above. In order to establish whether this is in fact the case, I conducted elicitation sessions comprising sentences with different evidential values. The elicitation was only run with three speakers (two male, one female, age range 28-47), but the patterns attested in it were confirmed by naturalistic discourse data, obtained from a greater number of speakers (20+).

Each of the speakers was presented with 33 Spanish sentences in context, and asked to translate them into TK. The examples were designed so as to allow comparison with the previous studies of Quechuan evidential markers (see Section 5.2). They encompassed statements for which the speaker had a variety of direct and indirect evidence, including conjecture, inference and different types reported evidence (see Table 5.1 in Section 5.1.3). Examples were also included to test whether ‘evidential’ enclitics would surface in statements based on best possible ground as understood by Faller (2002) (see Section 5.2.2.1).

The elicitation data have shown no correlation between the distribution of *=mi* or *=cha* and particular types of sources of evidence. The marker *=mi* occurred in utterances for which the speaker has all the different sources of evidence: direct (5.12), reportative (5.13), inferential and/or conjectural, as in (5.14) and (5.15), while *=cha* was virtually absent from the data. Consider:

(5.12) *=mi* with direct evidence

tamya -w      **=mi**

rain -PROG **=mi**

‘It is raining.’ [speaker sees that it’s raining].

el\_18092014\_01 03

(5.13) *=mi* with reportative evidence

rima -wa -n Saida      ungu -shka **=mi**      siri -k      ni -sha

say -1OBJ -3 NAME      fall.ill -ANT **=mi**      stay-AG.NMLZ      say -COR

‘I’ve been told Saida is ill.’

el\_25092014\_01 113

(5.14) =*mi* with conjectural evidence

ñuka   yaya                   shamu -w    =**mi**   (yachi -n)

1SG   father                come -PROG=**mi**   (seem -3)

‘It seems my father is coming.’ [speaker hears footsteps outside, and was expecting his father to come home]

el\_18092014\_01 035

(5.15) =*mi* with inferential/conjectural evidence

[Cesar]       minga               -ma =**mi**   ri -shka

[NAME]       collective.work -DAT=**mi**   go -ANT

‘[Cesar] went to the *minga*.’ [speaker arrives at Cesar’s home. He is not there, it’s the day of the ‘minga’, and Cesar is known for always attending collective work]

el\_18092014\_01 051

Example (5.12) is in line with the use of =*mi* in other Quechuan varieties, since the marker indicates that the speaker has direct, visual evidence. The utterance can also be made without =*mi* (see Section 5.3.2). The use of =*mi* in the reportative construction in (5.13) could also be accounted for in evidential terms (see Section 5.3.3.2). The examples that put the direct/BPG evidential analysis of =*mi* into question are (5.14) and (5.15), where =*mi* marks statements based on inference and conjecture. If the distribution of =*mi* and =*cha* in TK was similar to that in other varieties, we would expect the inference to be expressed with =*cha*. However, as we see below, such an utterance is not felicitous in TK:

(5.16)

a. #tamia-shka=**cha**

rain -ANT=**cha**

Intended meaning: ‘It rained.’ / ‘It must have rained.’

[speaker conjectures that it rained]

b. tamia-shka=**cha**?

rain -ANT=**cha**

‘Has it rained?’ / ‘It has rained, hasn’t it?’

el\_18092014\_01 02

My consultants pointed out that while example (5.16a) is grammatical, it is not felicitous as an assertive utterance, but rather should be used as a question or request for confirmation, as in (5.16b).

In elicitation, consultants consistently interpreted =*cha*-marked utterances as interrogative. In naturalistic discourse, =*cha*-marked declaratives are attested, but are interpreted as rhetorical questions rather than assertions. Unlike its Cuzco Quechua cognate (cf. Faller 2002:175; 2006; 2007), the TK =*cha* can occur in statements based on ‘direct, but unclear evidence’. As mentioned in Section 5.2.2.2 (see example (5.11)), the CQ -*chá* cannot occur in contexts where partial evidence is available, since in those cases the expression -*chus hina* (‘I guess’/‘apparently’) is preferred (cf. Faller 2006; 2007). Consider:

(5.17) Cuzco Quechua

a. Para-sha-n-**chá**.

rain-PROG-3-**CONJ**

‘It is raining.’ [It’s been raining the last few days, so speaker conjectures that it is/might be raining now.]

Faller (2007: 5)

b. Para-sha-n-**chus hina**<sup>53</sup>

rain-PROG-3-**DUB**

‘I think/guess it is raining.’ [Speaker hear something that sounds like rainfall on the roof, but is not entirely sure that it is rain.]

Faller (2006: 3)

In TK, when presented with context similar to that in (5.17b), the consultants also did not use =*cha*. Instead, they contributed the following utterances:

---

<sup>53</sup> In the original glossing of this example the whole expression -*chus hina* was glossed with one gloss: DUB/dubitative (cf. Faller 2006),



(5.18)

Context: The speaker wakes up in the morning and sees the ground is wet.

- a. Tuta tamya-shka<sup>54</sup>=**mi** yachi-n  
night rain-ANT =**mi** seem-3

‘It seems it rained last night.’/ ‘I think it rained last night.’

- b. Kuna tuta tamya-shka(=**mi**)  
today night rain-ANT (=**mi**)

‘It rained last night.’

elicited

It could be argued that (5.17a) and (5.18) are not strictly comparable, since the former is an inference from incomplete evidence, and the latter – from results. However, the =*mi yachin* construction (see Section 5.3.3.4) is also attested in cases of inference from partial evidence, as in (5.19):

(5.19)

- ñuka               yaya               shamu-w       =**mi**               yachi -n  
1SG               father               come -PROG=**mi**               seem -3

‘It seems my father is coming.’ [Speaker hears footsteps outside, and was expecting his father to come]

el\_21092014\_01 035

As mentioned above and shown in (5.16), out-of-the-blue utterances marked with =*cha* were consistently interpreted as requests for information/confirmation. In elicitation contexts, the construction =*mi yachin* (=mi seem-3), shown in (5.18) and (5.19), was preferred in statements based on partial evidence. However, as shown by (5.18), an unmarked proposition, or =*mi* alone, are also permissible. In naturalistic discourse utterances based on partial or unclear evidence were also marked by =*cha*:

---

<sup>54</sup> An issue which remains to be explored in further research is the role of the ANT marker -*shka* in such constructions and its interaction with discourse enclitics. This tense marker tends to be used in mirative contexts (see Section 2.4.2.2.3).

(5.20) = (3.68)

ima shuti-ra=**cha** Shangri=**cha** ni-j-kuna a-ka=y  
what name-ACC=**cha** NAME=cha say-AG.NMZL-PL AUX-PST=EMPH.INT  
‘What was his name, I think they called him Shangri...’

in\_26052013\_02 132

Example (5.20) comes from a life story/interview. The speaker knew the person whom she is trying to remember, but her memory is failing. In CQ, the inferential/conjectural evidential would not be permissible in such context (cf. Faller 2002: sec. 5.2).

The above examples show that while the dubitative meaning proposed for its cognates can be upheld for the TK =*cha*, the enclitic does not pattern like an inferential/conjectural evidential. In out-of-the-blue utterances, it receives interrogative interpretation, and when it occurs in declaratives in discourse, they tend to be interpreted as rhetorical questions. Moreover, both =*mi* and =*cha* can occur in statements based on partial or incomplete evidence. In the following sections, I show that the distribution of both markers can be accounted for if they are analysed as markers of epistemic authority (= *mi*) and lack thereof (= *cha*).

### 5.3.2 Clause types in TK and related notions

In the ensuing discussion of the TK ‘evidential markers’, the notions of clause type, speech act, sentential force and illocutionary force will be relevant. In this section, I briefly define these notions.

Speech acts can be defined as sentences uttered within a context of discourse (Searle 1969: 17-18). Clause types are not dependent on the discourse context, although there often is a coincidence between the grammatical structure of the clause and its conventional conversational use (Sadock & Zwicky 1985: 156; Koenig & Siemund 2007: 282). Nonetheless, to be cross-linguistically useful, the distinction between clause types need to be based on formal criteria (Koenig & Siemund 2007: 278). Consequently, clause types correspond to the syntactic forms of clauses and can differ from one another in terms of their internal structure (e.g. transitive vs

intransitive), syntactic function (main vs subordinate)<sup>55</sup>, or – most importantly from the point of view of this study – the types of speech acts they typically convey (cf. Aikhenvald 2015: 225). The three major sentence types attested cross-linguistically are: declaratives, interrogatives and imperatives. Clause/sentence types of a language form a system of mutually exclusive choices: one clause cannot belong to two clause types (cf. Sadock & Zwicky 1985:158-9; Koenig & Siemund 2007: 278).

Therefore, a crucial difference between a sentence type and a speech act lies in how the former relates to syntactic – and in many cases, prosodic – structures. While a given syntactic structure can only belong to one sentence type, it can map onto multiple speech acts. Consider:

(5.21)

Have you watered the flowers yet?

Sentence type: interrogative

Speech act<sub>1</sub>: question (S wants to know whether A has watered the flowers)

Speech act<sub>2</sub>: request (S wants A to water the flowers)

The lack of one-to-one mapping between sentential forms and speech acts has been captured by the notion of ‘indirect speech acts’ (Searle 1979), but the distinction between speech acts and sentence types remains valid.

This clause type/speech act distinction leads to distinguishing sentential force from illocutionary force. Sentential force is a ‘semantic correlate of a [syntactic] sentence type’ (cf. Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 1990: 165). Illocutionary force, on the other hand, is the speaker’s intention in producing an utterance, and is dependent on the communicative context of the utterance (cf. e.g. Austin 1962; Searle 1976). In sum, sentence type is a morphosyntactic category, and sentential force, directly correlating with sentence type, is also grounded in morphosyntax. The notions of speech act and illocutionary force are pragmatic rather than morphosyntactic. They only arise in communicative contexts and are often not marked by a single grammatical category (cf. Bruil 2014: 41).

---

<sup>55</sup> The term ‘sentence type’ is also used to discuss independent/main clauses (Aikhenvald 2015: 234).

Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 160) propose that the following cross-linguistically valid ‘division of labour’ between the three main sentence types:

The declarative is subject to judgments of truth and falsehood, it is used for making announcements, stating conclusions, making claims, relating stories, and so on. The interrogative elicits verbal response from the addressee. It is used principally to gain information. The imperative indicates the speaker’s desire to influence future events. It is of service in making requests, giving orders, making suggestions, and the like.

Portner (2006), who analyses sentential force in the sDRT<sup>56</sup> framework, attributes different sentential forces to the three main sentence types. The sentential force of declaratives is asserting, for interrogatives – asking, and for imperatives – requiring. Interrogatives can be used to request information, or to introduce questions to the set of questions under discussion. Once these questions are resolved, the corresponding proposition is added to the common ground (henceforth CG, see Section 4.1.1). Declarative clauses introduce propositions which, in the absence of mitigating circumstances, are added directly to the CG. Imperatives, on the other hand, do not add content to the CG, but rather to the to-do lists of participants (2006: 3-4). Therefore, the declaratives and interrogatives differ from the imperatives in the type of ‘conversational update’ they provide. In Gricean pragmatics, this mismatch between declaratives and interrogatives on the one hand, and imperatives on the other, is analysed in terms of differing ‘direction of fit’ between the words and the world (Searle 1976). In case of declaratives and interrogatives, the direction of fit is from the words to the world – the utterances need to match an independently existing state of affairs. In case of imperatives, the direction of fit is the opposite – from words to world – since the utterance is an attempt to influence a state of affairs existing in the world. It follows that declaratives and interrogatives on the one hand, and imperatives on the other, vary with respect to whether they can be bound by existential quantifiers. Existential quantification over an event introduces existential closure over the whole proposition (cf. Matić & Nikolaeva 2014: 204). Propositions within the scope of existential quantification can only denote events actualised in the text-external world. Therefore, existential closure is compatible with declarative and interrogative clauses which entail actualisation of events. Imperatives, on the other

---

<sup>56</sup> Segmented Discourse Representation Theory (cf. e.g. Asher 1993).

hand, cannot be bound by existential closure, since the direction of fit they represent is ‘from word to world’, and therefore incompatible with actualised events.

The opposing directions of fit characterising declaratives and interrogatives on the one hand, and imperatives on the other, are also associated with different types of origo authority. In case of declarative and interrogative clauses, the authority of the origo is epistemic, related to ‘knowing how the world is’, and indexed to the speaker and the addressee, respectively. In imperatives, the origo is the speaker and the type of authority they hold is deontic – associated with determining ‘how the world ought to be’ (Stevanovic & Peräkylä 2012: 298). The above describes the ‘conventional conversational uses’ of the different clause types, postulated to be valid cross-linguistically. How these correlate with grammatical structures is a more language-specific issue.

In TK, like in many other languages, declaratives are the predominant sentence type. In contrast to imperatives, declaratives exhibits a full paradigm of tense and aspect combinations (cf. König & Siemund 2007: 285). In TK, declarative main clauses are also characterised by a relatively free word order (see Section 4.3). Apart from morphosyntactic features, declaratives can also be distinguished from other clause types on a prosodic basis. They are characterised by falling intonation. Prosodic structure is crucial for distinguishing TK declaratives from interrogatives, which exhibit rising intonation. Polar interrogatives also do not have a fixed word order and optionally contain a range of interrogative markers, the distribution of which is related to focus articulation of the clause (see Chapter 3). *Wh*-interrogative clauses contain interrogative pronouns, which tend to occur clause-initially, as well as optional interrogative enclitics (see Chapter 3 and Chapter 4). In TK imperative clauses, the verb does not inflect for tense. The imperative verb form is either a bare verb stem or a stem with imperative or hortative marker attaching to its immediate right.

### 5.3.3 The semantics of *=mi*: claiming epistemic authority

In Section 5.3.1, I have shown that the TK *=mi* does not encode the direct evidential meaning. Nonetheless, it patterns similarly to its cognates in terms of grammatical and discourse contexts in which it occurs (see Section 5.2.2.1). The enclitic is not

grammatically obligatory, and it cannot occur in imperative utterances. Assertions marked with *=mi* are perceived by TK speakers as stronger than the unmarked ones. Similarly to what Faller observed for Cuzco Quechua (2002: 54), speakers seem to use *=mi* when they anticipate a potential challenge and want to claim authority over the information conveyed. In the sections that follow, I show that the TK *=mi* is a marker of epistemic authority/primacy. First, I examine the type of contribution it makes to the proposition expressed (5.3.3.1), showing that it encodes procedural rather than propositional meaning. Following on from that, I examine the meaning of *=mi* with examples of its use in root declarative (5.3.3.2) and interrogative clauses (5.3.3.3). Finally, I discuss the properties of *=mi* in embedded clauses (5.3.3.4) and provide a short summary (5.3.3.5). Since *=mi* does not occur in imperatives, they are not discussed here.

### 5.3.3.1 *=mi* and the proposition expressed

In this section, I show that the TK *=mi* encodes non-truth conditional meaning, in line with what has been suggested by the previous analyses. Although only Faller (2002) stated it explicitly, analysing *=mi* as an illocutionary operator modifying the truth conditions of an utterance, other analyses of *=mi* mentioned in Section 5.2.2.1 also assume the meaning of the marker is non-truth-conditional (cf. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997).

In the literature, two types of tests are standardly used to determine the type of contribution a linguistic element makes to an utterance: ‘the challengeability test’ and ‘the embedding test’ (Faller 2002: sec. 3.5.3). A more detailed array of tests applied specifically to evidentials is proposed by Peterson (2010: sec. 3.5). Below, I apply those of his tests that make different predictions for the ‘modal’ and ‘non-modal’ evidentials (see Section 5.1.1), namely: (1) the known truth/falsity test, (2) the ‘challengeability test’<sup>57</sup>, (3) the embeddability test and (4) the interrogative scope test. The first two involve truth value of the tested element, while the latter two have to do with issues of scope and embedding.

The known truth/falsity test relies on the assumption that epistemic modals are not felicitous when the speaker knows the truth value of the assertion, since they are used

---

<sup>57</sup> The ‘challengeability’ test is a label used by Faller (2002: sec. 3.5.3). Peterson (2010: sec. 3.5) calls it the ‘assent/dissent test’.

to quantify over epistemically accessible possible words (cf. Matthewson 2011). The TK *=mi*, like its cognate in Cuzco Quechua, does not weaken the assertion in the way that e.g. English epistemic modal verbs do, but rather makes it stronger/more emphatic (Faller 2002: chap. 4). Examples shown above, as well as (5.22) below, show *=mi*-marked statements are felicitous when the speaker knows that the proposition expressed by that statement is a fact. Therefore, *=mi* behaves unlike a modal marker in that it does not indicate an epistemic possibility.

The challengeability test is based on the assumption that if an expression carries a truth-conditional meaning, i.e. affects the truth conditions of the utterance (see Section 3.1), it can be challenged: questioned, doubted, rejected or disagreed with. Non-truth conditional elements, on the other hand, do not specify how the word should be for the utterance to be true, and therefore are non-challengeable. Consider:

(5.22)

- a.   Ñuka                   yaya                   shamu-w   **=mi**  
       1SG                   father               come-PROG**=mi**  
       ‘My father is coming.’
- b.   Ari,       cierto=**mi**  
       yes       sure=**mi**  
       ‘Yeah, that’s true.’
- c.   Shina=cha?  
       like.this=cha  
       ‘Is that so?’
- d.   Mana!  
       NEG  
       ‘No’

elicited

If a native speaker of TK utters (5.22a), plausible responses, depending on the situational context, include (5.22b), (5.22c) or (5.22d). All of the answers relate to the proposition that the speaker’s father is coming, and not to the speaker’s source of evidence or claim to epistemic authority. Example (5.22) is analogous to those

proposed by Faller (2002: 157-8) for the CQ =*mi*, which is also non-challengeable. Utterance (5.23) is an infelicitous attempt to challenge the evidential meaning of =*mi* in a CQ utterance analogous to (5.22a):

(5.23) Cuzco Quechua (QII)

|                |              |                |          |                   |
|----------------|--------------|----------------|----------|-------------------|
| Mana-n         | chiquaq-chu. | # Mana-n       | chay-ta  | riku-rqa-nki-chu. |
| not= <i>mi</i> | true-NEG     | not= <i>mi</i> | this-ACC | see-PST1-2-NEG    |

‘That’s not true. You didn’t see this.’

Faller (2002: 158)

Example (5.23) is an attempt to question the BPG – in this case, corresponding to visual evidence – of the speaker of (5.22a) to make an assertion. However, an attempt to challenge the TK =*mi* cannot rely on negating the source of evidence. As I show in Section 5.3.1, the TK =*mi* does not correlate either with direct evidence, or with BPG. If, as I hypothesised above, it marks epistemic authority, (5.22a) should rather be challenged by a statement along the lines of (5.24):

(5.24)

|       |       |      |                |              |
|-------|-------|------|----------------|--------------|
| Mana! | # Kan | mana | yacha-ngui=chu | chi-ta=ga !  |
| NEG   | # 2SG | NEG  | know-2=Q/NEG   | D.DEM-ACC=ga |

‘No! you don’t know that!’

elicited

As a response to (5.22a), speakers judge (5.24) infelicitous and (5.25) – felicitous:

(5.25)

|       |                 |       |
|-------|-----------------|-------|
| Mana! | Shuj= <i>mi</i> | a-n.  |
| NEG   | one = <i>mi</i> | COP-3 |

‘No, it’s someone else!’

elicited

Example (5.25) challenges the proposition that the father is coming, and not the speaker’s epistemic authority to make such a claim.

The reliability of this kind of evidence is questionable, however. The utterance of (5.24) could be judged infelicitous for a variety of reasons, e.g. the fact that it makes



a claim about the direct perception of someone else but the speaker, contradicting what the interlocutor has previously said. Such behaviour can be considered rude and therefore unacceptable, independently of the contribution of *=mi* to the assertion in (5.22a). While these doubts should be kept in mind in eliciting felicity and/or grammaticality judgments, I take the results above to plausibly indicate that, on the basis of the ‘challengeability’ test, the TK *=mi* can be considered non-truth-conditional.

The second set of tests suggested by Peterson (2010: sec. 3.5) has to do with scope and embeddability of the tested expression. These tests are based on the assumption that propositional operators affect the truth conditions of utterances, and therefore truth-conditional elements ‘should be able to fall within the scope of other propositional operators such as *if*’ (Peterson 2010: 108). Consequently, non-truth conditional elements, which cannot be understood as part of the semantic content of the clause, are not expected to interact with, or be embeddable under, propositional operators such as negation or conditionals. However, this view is challenged by more recent literature, which shows that some illocutionary elements can be embedded (cf. Krifka 2013; 2014; Faller 2014; Woods 2016).

The TK *=mi* is embeddable in a limited range of contexts. From the discussion above regarding the impossibility of challenging the meaning encoded by *=mi*, it follows that the marker always scopes over negation. On the other hand, attempts of embedding *=mi* in conditional antecedents deliver mixed results, which should be explored in detail in further research.

The two environments attested in the corpus where *=mi* can be embedded are: under factive verbs, including verbs of speech and thinking, and under the non-factive verb *yachin* (‘seem-3’). Consider:

(5.26)

|            |                   |             |                |                     |
|------------|-------------------|-------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>chi</i> | <i>churiwa...</i> | <i>ñuka</i> | <i>iyakani</i> | <i>churiwami...</i> |
| chi        | churi -wa         | ñuka        | iya-ka-ni      | churi-wa <b>=mi</b> |
| D.DEM      | son -DIM          | 1SG         | think-PST-1    | son -DIM <b>=mi</b> |

|              |                          |                 |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>paywa</i> | <i>churi manga</i>       | <i>nisha...</i> |
| pay -pa      | churi= <b>mi</b> a -nga  | ni -sha         |
| 3SG -GEN     | son = <b>mi</b> COP -FUT | say -COR        |

‘This little boy...I thought [he was the farmer’s] son, I said/thought, it’s going to be his son.’

el\_21092014\_02 69

In (5.26), =*mi* occurs in a speech complement introduced by the complementiser *nisha* (‘say-COR’), derived from a verb of speech *ni-* (say). In (5.26) the first occurrence of =*mi* is embedded under the factive verb *iya-* (‘think’), and the second – which could also be disambiguated as =*ma* – under *nisha*. The discussion above demonstrates that the embeddability test deliver mixed results for =*mi*. In Section 5.3.3.4, I discuss the occurrence of =*mi* in embedded clauses in more detail.

The final test which I consider here is the interrogative scope test, based on the assumption that modal operators ‘cannot take scope over an illocutionary act, such as performing a request/asking a question’ (Peterson 2010: 112). In the case of this test as well, more recent research shows that non-compatibility of discourse markers with certain clause-types does not preclude their illocutionary analysis (cf. Coniglio & Zegrean 2012).

In the TK, =*mi* occurs in declarative and interrogative contexts, but is not compatible with imperative morphology:

(5.27)

- a. miku-y!  
eat-2SG.IMP  
‘Eat!’
- b. \*miku-y=*mi*!  
eat-2SG.IMP=*mi*
- c. kallari-shun!  
start-HORT  
‘Let’s start!’

- d. \*kallari-shun=*mi*!  
start-HORT=*mi*

elicited

The fact that (5.27a) and (5.27c) are grammatical, and (5.27b) and (5.27d) are not shows that =*mi* cannot co-occur on the same host with imperative markers, and scope over speech acts of requesting. Such distribution of =*mi* in speech acts could suggest that the occurrence of the marker is related to existential closure. This hypothesis is undermined by the fact that =*mi*, though ungrammatical in imperatives, can occur in other constructions which do not provide existential anchoring of events (see Section 5.3.3.2). In the following section, I show that the incompatibility of =*mi* with imperative clauses should rather be attributed to the fact that =*mi* encodes the origo's epistemic authority, which is compatible with declaratives and interrogatives, but not with imperatives. In the latter case the authority of the origo is not epistemic, but deontic (see Section 5.3.2).

In this section, I have discussed the behaviour of =*mi* with respect to a series of tests that are standardly applied in order to determine the type of semantic contribution a linguistic expression makes to the utterance. The truth-falsity test has shown that =*mi* can occur on propositions which the speaker knows to be true, and therefore patterns like non-modal evidentials in this respect. The marker has also proven to be non-challengeable. On the basis of those two tests, the TK =*mi* can be analysed as non-truth conditional.

The tests related to scope and embedding were originally aimed at establishing whether a marker can be analysed as an illocutionary modifier. Embeddability and scoping under speech acts were taken as evidence for the non-illocutionary nature of the markers (cf. Peterson 2010). However, more recently it has been argued that discourse particles interact both with clause type and illocutionary force – they can be restricted to certain clause types, and at the same time contribute to illocutionary force of utterances by modifying the speaker's communicative intention (Coniglio & Zegrean 2012: 230).

In the sections that follow, I discuss the occurrences of *=mi* in different clause types. I also show whether and how *=mi* influences the illocutionary force of utterances. I come back to TK discourse enclitic and the levels of meaning in Section 5.3.5.

### 5.3.3.2 *=mi* in declarative clauses

In this section, I discuss the occurrences of *=mi* in declarative clauses, showing that the TK *=mi* should be analysed as a marker of epistemic authority/primacy: marking the relative right to know or claim, or the authority over knowledge (see Section 5.1.2). I understand epistemic primacy as being closely related, but not tantamount to, the best possible ground (BPG) as defined by Faller (2002). She, and other authors researching Quechuan evidentiality (e.g. Floyd 1997; Nuckolls 2012) recognise the origo's authority over the information as an important component of the meaning of the direct evidential. According to Faller, the two components of the BPG, necessary to make a *=mi*-marked assertion, are: (1) having the best possible source of evidence and (2) authority over the information (2002: chap. 4). In TK, only the latter is necessary – the use of *=mi* is dependent on the speaker's having (or wanting to project) the authority over the information, but this perceived authority need not be dependent on direct evidence.

Consider example (5.28), which comes from a conversation about the Pear Story (Chafe 1980). The speaker claims that a stone over which the protagonist trips had been put on the road by a group of three boys. This is a conjecture, since it did not appear in the video, and in other varieties of Quechua (5.28) could not have been felicitously marked with *=mi*. The example is felicitous in TK, since the speaker believes that he has just realised something that is not apparent to his interlocutor and uses *=mi* to index epistemic authority.

(5.28)

|            |               |                    |                 |                    |                 |
|------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <i>Chi</i> | <i>rumira</i> | <i>paynami</i>     | <i>churasha</i> | <i>chapanushka</i> | <i>chibi...</i> |
| chi        | rumi -ta      | payguna= <b>mi</b> | chura-sha       | chapa -nushka      | chi -pi         |
| D.DEM      | stone -ACC    | 3PL <b>=mi</b>     | put -COR        | wait -3PL.ANT      | D.DEM -LOC      |

'They have put this stone...they've waited having put it there...'

el\_25092014\_03 048

Similar examples come from a staged conversation about the results of several three-shell games with a seed and three nut shells. Two consultants watched the games on video. First, they saw each game without the finale, and were asked to guess where the seed was. Then, they watched the same trick until the end, when the final location of the seed was revealed. Since statements based on guesswork and conjecture are marked by the inferential/conjectural in other varieties, I was expecting the speakers to use *=cha*. However, *=cha* did not occur at all in the 10-minute recording (113 turns). Instead, the speaker's guesses were often marked by *=mi*:

(5.29)

|       |                     |       |       |          |
|-------|---------------------|-------|-------|----------|
| lluki | pura-ma= <b>mi</b>  | ri-n, | lluki | pura-ma  |
| left  | side-DAT= <b>mi</b> | go -3 | left  | side-DAT |

‘[the seed] goes to the left, to the left...’

el\_03102014\_01 076

(5.30)

|               |                 |            |                      |                |
|---------------|-----------------|------------|----------------------|----------------|
| <i>muyuwā</i> | <i>ajga</i>     | <i>chi</i> | <i>puramami</i>      | <i>sakirin</i> |
| muyu-wa       | a -k =ga        | chi        | pura -ma = <b>mi</b> | saki-ri -n     |
| seed -INSTR   | be-AG.NMLZ =TOP | D.DEM      | side -DAT= <b>mi</b> | let -ANTIC -3  |

‘the [one] that has the seed stays on this side’

el\_03102014\_01 115

In both examples, the speakers have good grounds to think their perception could be mistaken; they have already watched several tricks and never guessed correctly. Consequently, their use of *=mi* goes against the analysis of the enclitic as marking BPG, since the speaker needs to believe having the BPG to use a *=mi*-marked utterance (Faller 2002: chap.4). The examples above are felicitous, however, if *=mi* is analysed as encoding epistemic authority. Under this analysis, by using *=mi*, each speaker makes a claim as to the ‘depth, specificity or completeness of their knowledge’, trying to convince the interlocutor that his insight is privileged and grants him the ‘primary right’ to assess the situation in the video (cf. Stivers et al. 2011: 13). As mentioned previously, an alternative interpretation of *=mi* as a marker of assertive speech act is ruled out by the fact that it also occurs in interrogative clauses (see Section 5.2.2.1).

The uses of *=mi* prototypical for other varieties, where the origo has the BPG for making an assertion, are also accounted for if *=mi* is analysed as marking epistemic authority. Both BPG and epistemic authority can be claimed with respect to information integrated in one's system of beliefs, and coming from direct experience, or learnt from authority (Faller 2002: chap. 4). In TK, *=mi* also occurs in these cases:

(5.31)

|              |           |         |           |            |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------|------------|
| Chi-raygu    | kuna-gama | wayusa  | upi-shka  | tuku-shka  |
| D.DEM-CAUSAL | now-LAT   | guayusa | drink-ANT | become-ANT |

|                   |         |      |                      |                 |
|-------------------|---------|------|----------------------|-----------------|
| tukuy riksi-nawn, | wayusa  | yapa | bali                 | -n= <b>mi</b> . |
| all know-3PL      | guayusa | much | be.good-3= <b>mi</b> |                 |

‘Because of this, until now the drinking of the guayusa has been known (practiced) by all, guayusa is very good.’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO2 072

In (5.31), a community elder talks about the custom of drinking guayusa.<sup>58</sup> In the *=mi*-marked statement, the speaker invokes cultural knowledge about guayusa, alongside his personal experience.

In declarative clauses, origo corresponds to the speaker (see Section 5.1.1). Therefore, evidentials and other epistemic perspective markers are ‘anchored’ to the speaker, and by default represent her point of view (cf. e.g. Bruil 2014; Bergqvist 2015). Consequently, it is to be expected that the marking of epistemic authority is redundant in first person subject clauses, where the speaker is entitled to ‘epistemic privilege’ (cf. Dickinson 2016) by virtue of being the primary actor in the situation he talks about. Therefore, marking of origo’s epistemic authority in 1SUBJ clauses should be associated with a pragmatically marked reading of such clauses. This is in fact the case in TK. Consider:

(5.32)

|                        |     |                  |
|------------------------|-----|------------------|
| pagrachu-ni= <b>mi</b> | pay | shamu-shka-manda |
| thank -1 = <b>mi</b>   | 3SG | come-ANT-ABL     |

‘I thank him [the parish’s president] for having come’

ev\_04102013\_03 038

<sup>58</sup> A traditional Napo Runa infusion made with leaves of *Ilex guayusa*.

(5.33)

ukta hospital-ma ri-ni=**mi** chi tuta...  
 fast hospital-DAT go-1=**mi** D.DEM night  
 ‘I went to the hospital quickly that night...’

in\_26052013\_02 271

Example (5.32) comes from a political speech, and (5.33) from a life-story interview. In both cases, =*mi* with a 1SUBJ verb does not affect the semantic content of the propositions conveyed. Nonetheless, both =*mi*-marked statements seem to convey greater intentionality on behalf of the speaker than would be conveyed by an unmarked assertion. In (5.32), a member of the village government emphatically thanks his superior for attending. In (5.33), the speaker recounts how she recovered from an illness that had almost killed her unborn child. The occurrence of =*mi* in 1SUBJ clauses is often found in political speeches, presumably to increase the argumentative force of utterances.<sup>59</sup>

Pragmatic effects arise also when =*mi* is used in 2SUBJ clauses. In TK, 2SUBJ declaratives are generally considered rude. In elicitation, my consultants rejected 2SUBJ declaratives and suggested interrogative equivalents instead. In the corpus, 2SUBJ clauses mostly occur in interrogatives or in speech complements. This is possibly due to the fact that in 2SUBJ declaratives there is a mismatch between the origo/speaker and the ‘epistemic source’ (Hargreaves 2005) of the proposition, corresponding to the addressee. While TK speakers reject unmarked ‘out-of-the-blue’ 2SUBJ declaratives, 2SUBJ declaratives with =*mi* are considered felicitous:

(5.34) = (2.80)

a. #Juan, pantalon-da liki-ngui / liki-nga ra-w-ngui.  
 NAME trousers -ACC rip-2 / rip-FUT AUX-PROG-2  
 Intended meaning: ‘Juan, you’ll rip your trousers.’

b. Juan pantalon-da liki-shka.  
 NAME trousers-ACC rip-ANT  
 ‘Juan has ripped his trousers [I just found out].’

<sup>59</sup> Although I have not conducted prosodic analysis of such constructions, preliminary observations suggest that no special prosodic marking is involved in such contexts.

- c. Juan, pantalón-da liki-ngui=**mi**  
 NAME trousers-ACC rip-2 =**mi**  
 ‘Juan, you’ll rip your trousers!’

el\_31052013\_1 388

Example (5.34a) was judged infelicitous. The consultant suggested a 3SUBJ clause in (5.34b) instead. Example (5.34c) was judged felicitous only in a context of scolding/warning a child. A similar effect, associated with illocutionary force of encouragement, is shown in (5.35):

(5.35)

- A: Mana usha-ni  
 NEG can-1  
 ‘I cannot (do this).’  
 B: [kan] ushan-gui=**mi**  
 [2SG] can -2 =**mi**  
 ‘[Yes, you] can!’

attested

Example (5.35) comes from a conversation in which I was saying that I would not be able to prepare *chicha*, to which my friend replied with utterance B, encouraging me to try. When I asked another consultant whether (5.35B) would be felicitous without =*mi*, it was judged odd and lacking argumentative force. In (5.36) =*mi* is used with the same modal verb interpreted deontically:

(5.36)

- Payna mana kumbira-k-llyara,  
 3PL NEG invite -AG.NMLZ -CON  
 miku-na-ra usha-ngui=**mi**.  
 eat -INF-ACC can -2 =**mi**  
 ‘Even if they don’t invite you, you can eat.’

el\_02102013 177



In (5.36) the speaker informs the addressee that it is socially appropriate to eat without being invited. The illocutionary force of the utterance is permission. Example (5.36) demonstrates that despite being ungrammatical with imperative morphology, *=mi* is compatible with hortative illocutionary acts. Consider also another use of *=mi* in a concessive clause in (5.37):

(5.37)

|     |           |                     |                            |
|-----|-----------|---------------------|----------------------------|
| Kan | ansa =lla | upi-j-llayra        | multa-nu-nga= <b>mi</b>    |
| 2SG | some=LIM  | drink -AG.NMLZ -CON | fine -3SUBJ-FUT= <b>mi</b> |

‘Even if you just drink a little, they will fine you.’

el\_02102013 169

In contrast to the permissive illocutionary force of the concessive clause in (5.36), the utterance in (5.37) has an illocutionary force of a warning. Example (5.37), as well as the previous ones, was judged grammatical – but not felicitous – without *=mi*.

The pragmatic effects resulting from the co-occurrence of *=mi* with 2SUBJ are in line with similar phenomena attested in epistemic marking systems in other languages. In Wutun (Sinitic, China), the egophoric marking co-occurring with 2SUBJ results in performatives (Sandman 2016). In Tsafiki (Barbacoan, Ecuador) – (Dickinson 2016) the egophoric marker *-yo* co-occurs with 2SUBJ in scolding contexts, parallel to (5.34c) above. The common feature of examples (5.34) through (5.37) above is that *=mi* encodes epistemic authority anchored to the speaker, despite the subject being the default source of epistemic authority in 2SUBJ assertions. This gives rise to differing illocutionary forces, which can all be traced back to the speaker’s assertion of epistemic primacy. In (5.34) and (5.37) the illocutionary force is that of warning or advice, arising from superior life experience of the speaker (‘I know what will happen if you keep doing what you are doing!’). In (5.35), the speaker preforms an illocutionary act of encouragement, asserting her ‘relative right to know’ with respect to the addressee’s skills (‘I’m telling you, you can do it!’). In (5.36), the illocutionary force of permission arises by virtue of the speaker’s superior knowledge of social norms (‘I know that it is appropriate for you to do it’).

The examples above have also shown that while *=mi* is incompatible with imperative sentential force (see (5.27)), it can occur in declaratives utterances with mild

hortative illocutionary force. The enclitic is also attested in a declarative construction involving the infinitive *-na* and auxiliary, used to express recommendations or requirements:

(5.38)

Kay-ta            rumi-wa            taka-na=**mi**    a-n,            shindzi-ra...  
 P.DEM-ACC   stone-INSTR   hit-INF=**mi**    AUX-3        strong-ACC  
 ‘[One] has to hit this with a stone, [hit it] hard...’

in\_24092014\_01 009

(5.39)

shu manga    upi-na=**mi**            a-ngui,    ka-wna            mama    ista-raygu.  
 one    pot    drink-INF=**mi**    AUX-2    2SG-PL            mother    party-CAUSAL  
 ‘You have to drink one [full] pot [of chicha] because of your [day], the Mother’s Day’

ev\_15052013\_07 007

The constructions exemplified above often occur in instructions and how-to-make texts. This contradicts the observations made for *=mi* in other varieties (cf. Weber 1986; Floyd 1997), according to which the enclitic does not occur in how-to-make texts. While direct evidence might not be relevant in giving instructions, epistemic primacy of the more experienced person is relevant to such contexts. However, unlike the previous examples, these constructions are also felicitous without *=mi*.

Another construction which has not been mentioned in this section, and which constitutes a prototypical case of speaker’s epistemic primacy, is *verum focus*. In TK, it is most often marked with the dedicated enclitic *=tá* (see Section 4.5.2). However, *=mi* can also occur in such constructions. Consider:

(5.40) = (4.50)

Q:    María            chari-n=dzu            shu    puka    pimienta-ra    ?  
       NAME            have-3=Q/NEG        one    red    pepper-ACC

A:    Ari,            chari-n=**dá**    shu    puka    pimienta-ra    shinallara    chari-n  
       yes            have-3=**tá**    one    red    pepper-ACC    also            have-3

killu=s,            killu            pimientora.  
yellow=ADD    yellow            pepper-ACC

Q: ‘Does Maria have red pepper?’

A: ‘Yes, she does have a red pepper, and she also has a yellow one, a yellow pepper.’

el\_03122014\_02 104

(5.41) = (4.51)

Q:    Pedro            chari-n=dzu            shu    manzana-ra?  
         NAME            have-3=Q/NEG            one    apple-ACC

A:    Ari,            chari-n=**mi**    shu    manzana, shu            puka    manzana  
         yes            have-3=**mi**    one    apple            one            red    apple  
  
         shinallara    charin....    shu    sopa    platora            chari-n.  
         also            have-3            one    soup    plate-ACC            have-3

Q: ‘Does Pedro have an apple?’

A: ‘Yes, he has an apple, a red apple, and he also has...[he] has a plate of soup.’

el\_01122014\_08 133-34

The examples above show that both =*mi* and =*tá* can be used when the main assertion of the utterance is the positive polarity of the clause. In both (5.40) and (5.41), epistemic primacy lies with the speaker, who confirms to the addressee that what she was supposing is the case. The fact that both markers can occur in this contexts suggests that =*tá* could also encode epistemic primacy. In Chapter 6, I show that the difference between =*mi* and =*tá* lies not in epistemic primacy value, but in the speaker’s expectation regarding the knowledge of the addressee.

### 5.3.3.3 =*mi* in interrogative clauses

In Section 5.1, I mentioned that epistemic marking systems are characterised by a perceiver/origo shift, whereby the epistemic markers are anchored to the speaker in declaratives, and to the addressee in interrogatives. This also obtains for the TK =*mi*:

(5.42)

A: Kan kulki-ra mana chari-ngui=**mi** ?  
2SG money-ACC NEG have-2=**mi**

B: Ari, mana chari-ni=**mi**  
yes NEG have-1=**mi**

A: ‘You don’t have money[, do you]?’

B: ‘No, I don’t.’

el\_28112014\_05

The exchange in (5.42) is plausible in a situation where B has previously told A that he didn’t have money. Thus, A’s utterance could be seen as a confirmation question, following up on what B had said before. This also shows that in both utterances, =*mi* is anchored to B, who has the epistemic primacy with respect to the information A enquires about. A ‘default’ polar interrogative with =*chu* is used when the speaker does not make any reference to the addressee’s authority to answer the question:

(5.43)

Kan kullki-ra chari-ngui=*chu*?  
2SG money-ACC have-2=Q/NEG  
‘Do you have money?’

attested

The enclitic =*mi* occurs in interrogatives much less frequently than in declaratives. In his description of Quian (Tibeto-Burman), LaPolla states that evidentials are non-obligatory in interrogatives, unless the speaker makes an assumption about the addressee’s source of information regarding the answer (2003: 73, cited in Bergqvist 2015: 4). Faller (2002) made a similar observation for =*mi* in Cuzco Quechua. This interpretation could also be paraphrased to apply to TK, where it appears that =*mi* is only used in interrogatives if the speaker wishes to make an explicit reference to the addressee’s authority to answer the question. This is also confirmed by =*mi* occurring predominantly in requests for confirmation.

(5.44)

Kan boda-ma ri-ka-ngui, kan yacha-ngui=**mi** maka-nushka-ra ?  
2SG wedding-DAT go-PST-2 2SG know-2 =**mi** beat -3PL.ANT-ACC

‘You went to the party, so you know [must] about the fight?’

el\_24112014\_03 499

Example (5.44) contrasts with examples in the previous section, where 2SUBJ marking combined with =*mi* resulted in the reinforcement of the speaker’s opinion, and ‘boosting’ of the default illocutionary force of the declarative. In (5.44), the epistemic authority encoded by =*mi* is deferred to the addressee. While both the above examples of =*mi*-marked interrogatives were confirmation questions, =*mi* can also occur in content questions:

(5.45) = (5.6) = (4.79)

*Ima shutimi?*

what name=**mi**

‘What is her name?’ [asked to someone who knows the person in question]

in\_20092013\_03 216

The exact discourse contexts in which questions like (5.45) are preferred to epistemically unmarked interrogatives requires further investigation. This particular interrogative was uttered by a person who didn’t know me, when one of my consultants brought me to her house. Therefore, by uttering (5.45) the speaker was recognising my consultant’s authority to tell her about me, since the consultant already knew my name.

The use of =*mi* in interrogative clauses seems to be a speaker’s subjective choice, depending on whether she wants to emphasise her interlocutor’s epistemic authority. In Section 5.3.4.3. I discuss the use of =*cha* in interrogatives, whereby the speaker achieves a similar effect by opposite means, that is, but downplaying their authority over the subject of the enquiry.

#### 5.3.3.4 =*mi* in embedded clauses

In Section 5.3.3.1, I show that =*mi* can embed under verbs of speech and thinking, and under the non-factive verb *yachin* (‘seem-3’). In this section, I discuss examples

of *=mi* in embedded contexts, and show how they can be reconciled with the analysis of *=mi* as an epistemic authority marker. In other Quechuan dialects, e.g. Cuzco Quechua, the evidential enclitics occur in embedded questions (Faller 2014). In TK, however, this pattern was not attested in the corpus. The enclitic *=mi* is attested to occur in declarative embedded clauses.

The most frequent context for embedding of *=mi* are speech complements, which are introduced by means of the finite verb *nin* (‘say-3’), or the participle *nisha* (‘say-COR’):

(5.46)

|         |                       |            |                            |          |
|---------|-----------------------|------------|----------------------------|----------|
| [Marcos | shamu-shka= <b>mi</b> | ]CP        | <b>ni</b> -sha= <b>mi</b>  | rima-nun |
| NAME    | come-ANT              | <b>=mi</b> | <b>say</b> -COR= <b>mi</b> | talk-3PL |

‘They say [that] Marcos has come back.’

el\_18092014\_01 059

In (5.46), the speaker uses the participle *nisha* (‘say-COR’) together with another verb of speech, *rima-* (‘talk’), which is the head of the main clause. The TK co-reference suffix *-sha* indicates an action simultaneous to that of the main verb (see Section 2.5.3.2.3). However, in (5.46) interpreting *nisha* as a verb of speech would lead to redundancy (‘they talked, saying’). Therefore, it is plausible to assume that *nisha* is on the path to grammaticalising as a complementiser (cf. Bybee et al. 1994).<sup>60</sup> This is confirmed by similar patterns attested in the elicited and naturalistic discourse parts of the corpus. Speech complements can also be introduced by *nin* (‘say-3’):

(5.47)

|       |             |      |           |           |    |                          |               |
|-------|-------------|------|-----------|-----------|----|--------------------------|---------------|
| [Chi  | rukumama    | sara | punda-ma  | kapari-n] | CP | <b>ni</b> -n= <b>mi</b>  | <b>ni</b> -n  |
| D.DEM | grandmother | corn | point-DAT | shout-3   |    | <b>say</b> -3= <b>mi</b> | <b>say</b> -3 |

‘That grandmother was shouting at the end of the corn field.’

ta\_07062013\_01 359

<sup>60</sup> Verbs of speech are a cross-linguistically common source of complementisers. Such complementisers have been attested e.g. in various African (cf. Güldemann 2008), Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Saxena 1988) and Sinitic (e.g. Chappell 2008) languages, as well as in creoles (e.g. Plag 1992).

Example (5.47) comes from a traditional narrative. In this case, the source of information cannot be traced back to a specific source, and *nin* functions as a reportative/hearsay marker, indicating the speaker's hearsay epistemic access to the folkloric information conveyed by the narrative. The examples of *=mi + nin/nisha* are ubiquitous in natural discourse<sup>61</sup>, and most verbal reports are introduced this way. However, in context such as (5.48) below, *nin* preserves its original 'verb of speech' semantics:

(5.48)

Yupa -n apaya... Kay uno, dos, shu illa -kpi **ni** -n  
 count -3 man P.DEM one two one lack -SWREF say -3  
 'The man counts.. 'Here, one, two...one is missing', [he] says.'

e1\_25092014\_02 082-3

In (5.48), the status of *nin* as a content verb is confirmed by the fact that it is the only finite verb in the clause. However, in (5.46) and (5.47), where the embedded clauses are root clauses, both *nisha* and *nin* function as complementisers. In-depth study of the TK reportative/hearsay constructions and complement clauses with *ni-* could lead to interesting insights into the process of grammaticalisation in the language. However, it falls beyond the scope of the present study. Reportative constructions with *nin* were attested in other Quechuan varieties – in Imbabura Quechua, the verb co-occurs with the reportative marker *-shi* (cf. Cole 1982).

In (5.46) above, *=mi* occurs both in the embedded clauses, and in the matrix clause. Since *=mi* can only occur once per clause, this could suggest that the root speech complements in TK are embedded semantically, but not syntactically in the matrix clause. Complex sentences with embedded root clauses make not one, but two assertions (Hooper & Thompson 1973; cf. Faller 2014 for discussion with respect to CQ). Consider:

(5.49)

- a. She said the guests have just arrived.
- b. She said X
- c. The guests have just arrived

<sup>61</sup> Of 2450 tokens of *ni-* in the 'naturalistic' corpus, 12% (n= 296) scope over *=mi*-marked clauses.

Utterance (5.49a) asserts both (5.49b) and (5.49c), where (5.49c) is not the assertion by the speaker, but rather a ‘cited/reported’ assertion of the subject of the embedded clause (Hooper & Thompson 1973, cited in Faller 2014). This analysis is in line with the patterns attested in TK. The fact that the assertion in the embedded speech complement and the assertion made in the matrix clause are two separate assertions is evident in the context of self-corrections:

(5.50)

|           |              |         |          |
|-----------|--------------|---------|----------|
| Muyu-ra   | piti-w-n.... | ima.... | Coco.... |
| fruit-ACC | cut-PROG-3   | what    | coconut  |

|       |                    |         |     |           |                      |
|-------|--------------------|---------|-----|-----------|----------------------|
| Mana, | [coco= <b>mi</b>   | (a-n)   | ]CP | ni- ni... | coco= <b>chá</b> ... |
| NEG   | coconut= <b>mi</b> | (COP-3) |     | say -1    | coconut= <b>cha</b>  |

‘He is cutting [harvesting] fruit....what...[It’s a] coconut...no, I said coconut, [is it a] coconut?’

eI\_24092014\_03 003-5

Example (5.50) is an excerpt from the description of the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980). The speaker describes the video, identifying the fruit on the tree as a coconut. She then negates that previous opinion, presented in an embedded speech complement, and states that she is not convinced whether the fruit in the video is in fact a coconut. The embedded speech complement and the matrix clause are two different assertions, as shown by the speaker’s use of different, mutually exclusive discourse enclitic in the two clauses. The embedded assertion is marked by =*mi*, while the matrix clause is a =*cha*-marked statement. This shows that while in the matrix clause the origo is the speaker of the utterance, in the embedded clause the origo shifts to the subject of the matrix clause. In (5.50), both the speaker and the subject of the matrix verb correspond to the same person. The speaker quotes herself, since she no longer considers that the fruit in the video is a coconut, and therefore frames her previous statement in an embedded speech complement, merely presenting, rather than asserting, the =*mi*-marked proposition. The embedded speech complement can thus be interpreted as an assertion made by the speaker’s ‘former



self’. Similar analysis can be applied to self-correction complement clauses embedded the factive verb *iya-* (‘think’)<sup>62</sup>:

(5.51)

|            |                     |             |                |                       |
|------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Chi</i> | <i>churiwa.....</i> | <i>ñuka</i> | <i>iyakani</i> | <i>churiwami....</i>  |
| chi        | churi -wa           | ñuka        | iya -ka -ni    | churi -wa = <b>mi</b> |
| D.DEM      | son -DIM            | 1SG         | think-PST-1    | son -DIM = <b>mi</b>  |

|              |                                      |                 |
|--------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| <i>paywa</i> | <i>churi manga</i>                   | <i>nisha...</i> |
| pay -pa      | churi = <b>mi</b> a -nga             | ni -sha         |
| 3SG-GEN      | son = <b>mi</b> /= <b>ma</b> COP-FUT | say -COR        |

‘That little boy, I thought [he was] [the farmer’s] little son.. ‘[this] would be his son’, [I said]’

el\_21092014\_02 069

The complements of the verb of thinking can either be introduced by *nisha*, or occur without a complementiser:

(5.52)

|                   |                                      |             |      |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|------|
| Panda-ri-nchi,    | [lluki-wa= <b>mi</b> ] <sub>CP</sub> | iya-ka-ni   | ñuka |
| mistake-ANTIC-1PL | left-INSTR= <b>mi</b>                | think-PST-1 | 1SG  |

‘We were wrong, I thought [it was] with the left [hand].’

el\_03102014\_01 062

The TK finite speech complements are always direct. This corroborates the analysis of embedded speech complements as presenting the perspective/commitment of the subject of the embedded, rather than the matrix clause. Consider the examples below, coming from a narrative retelling of a ‘Tomato story’ picture stimulus (Skopeteas et al. 2006). In the story, a mother sends three children to the market to buy tomatoes, but only the youngest child succeeds. The examples below are excerpts from the story being told from the perspective of the external observer, as in (5.53), and that of the youngest child, as in (5.54):

<sup>62</sup> This construction is much less frequent than embedding under verbs of speech. Only 7 examples were attested in the 13h corpus.

(5.53)

|               |  |               |               |   |
|---------------|--|---------------|---------------|---|
| <i>Wasima</i> | <i>tigramusha</i>                      | <i>pay</i>    | <i>mamara</i> | <i>kun,</i>                             |
| wasi-ma       | tigra-mu-sha                           | pay           | mama-ta       | ku-n                                    |
| house-DAT     | return-CIS-COR                         | 3SG           | mother-ACC    | give-3                                  |
|               |  |               |               |   |
| <i>ña</i>     | <i>randimunimi</i>                     | <i>nisha.</i> | <i>Napi</i>   | <i>randimunimi</i>                      |
| [ña           | randi-mu-ni= <b>mi</b> ] <sub>CP</sub> | ni-sha        | shinakpi      | [randi-mu-ni= <b>mi</b> ] <sub>CP</sub> |
| already       | buy -CIS -1= <b>mi</b>                 | say-COR       | therefore     | buy -CIS-1= <b>mi</b>                   |

|               |              |            |                  |           |              |           |                |
|---------------|--------------|------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| <i>nijpi,</i> | <i>randi</i> | <i>pay</i> | <i>mamaga...</i> | <i>ña</i> | <i>yanun</i> | <i>ña</i> | <i>sopara.</i> |
| ni-kpi        | randi        | pay        | mama=ga          | ña        | yanu-n       | ña        | sopa-ta        |
| say-SWREF     | rather       | 3SG        | mother=ga        | well      | cook-3       | well      | soup-ACC       |

‘Coming back to the house [he] gives [the tomatoes] to his mother, saying ‘I bought them’. Then, as [he] said ‘I bought them’, his mother, well, she cooks the soup.’

el\_01122014\_12 067-68

(5.54)

|               |                  |             |              |              |
|---------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Wasima</i> | <i>tigrajpi,</i> | <i>ñuka</i> | <i>mama,</i> | <i>mana,</i> |
| wasi-ma       | tigra-kpi        | ñuka        | mama         | mana         |
| house-DAT     | return-SWREF     | 1SG         | mother       | NEG          |

|                     |                                 |               |               |                   |
|---------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>allirami</i>     | <i>apamushkangui</i>            | <i>nisha,</i> | <i>ñukara</i> | <i>pagrachun.</i> |
| [alli-ta= <b>mi</b> | apa-mu-shka-ngui] <sub>CP</sub> | ni-sha        | ñuka-ta       | pagrachu-n        |
| good-ACC= <b>mi</b> | take-CIS-ANT-2                  | say-COR       | 1SG-ACC       | thank-3           |

‘When I get home my mother thanks me, saying “you’ve bought the right [things]”’

el\_05122014\_07 051

In both cases, the speech complements are direct, as shown by the fact that they retain verb agreement used by the original speaker. In example (5.53), it is also clear that the =*mi* in the embedded clause is indexed to the subject of the matrix clause.

The examples above demonstrate that TK finite speech complements can be analysed in line with the analyses of embedded speech complements proposed by Krifka (2013; 2014). He analyses speech acts in terms of commitments they give rise to. Making a certain speech act brings on a certain commitment, e.g. making an assertion is characterised by ‘assertive commitment’ – being liable to the addressee

for the truth of the proposition (cf. Faller 2014: 52). However, in embedded speech complements it is not the speaker, but the subject of the matrix clause who is liable for the truth of the proposition, which is merely ‘presented’ by the speaker as someone else’s point of view. This is in line with Faller’s proposal according to which there is a separate speech act of presenting, which differs from assertion (Faller 2002; 2012). Nonetheless, there are important differences between the properties of direct speech complements in TK and in CQ. As shown above, in TK speech complements the origo shifts to the subject of the matrix clause, which explains why finite speech complements and their matrix clauses can contain different discourse enclitics, including those which cannot co-occur within the same simple clause. This, together with the fact that speech complements are always direct, suggests that the TK direct speech complements embed semantically, but not syntactically. For CQ, Faller (2014) reaches the opposite conclusion. She remarks that the origo of embedded evidentials in CQ does not shift to the matrix subject, but remains with the speaker of the utterance context. This leads her to conclude that in CQ, finite speech complements embed syntactically, but not semantically.

Another context in which the TK *=mi* can embed are finite complements of the non-factive verb *yachin* (‘seem-3’). Consider:

(5.55) = (5.19)

|      |        |          |                  |       |    |
|------|--------|----------|------------------|-------|----|
| ñuka | yaya   | shamu -w | = <b>mi</b>      | yachi | -n |
| [1SG | father | come     | -PROG= <b>mi</b> | seem  | -3 |

‘It seems my father is coming.’ [Speaker hears footsteps outside, and was expecting his father to come home]

el\_18092014\_01 035

(5.56)

|        |  |            |
|--------|--|------------|
| Wa.... | urmashkan <b>imi</b>                       | yachin.... |
| wa     | [urma -shka -ni= <b>mi</b> ] <sub>CP</sub> | yachi -n   |
| oh     | fall -ANT -1= <b>mi</b>                    | seem -3    |

‘Oh, I seems I have fallen.’ [while drunk]

el\_18092014\_01 57

The consultants most often translate *yachin* into Spanish with constructions involving non-factive verbs: ‘it seems’ or ‘I believe’. In other dialects of Quechua,

the above utterances would not occur with *=mi*. In (5.55) the speaker bases his claim on incomplete evidence, and therefore the inferential/conjectural evidential or – in Cuzco Quechua – the marker *-chus hina* (see Section 5.3.1) would be appropriate in this context. Example (5.56) is uttered in a context where the speaker is not fully aware of her actions. Aikhenvald reports that in such contexts, evidential languages often recur to the use of indirect/non-visual evidentiality (2004: chap. 7). This is also the case for several Quechuan varieties (cf. Weber 1986: 139; Faller 2002: 190), where the reportative marker is used to mark the speaker’s unawareness of her own actions. In TK, either *=mi + yachin* or just *yachin* occur in those contexts.<sup>63</sup> In general, *=mi*-marked propositions were able to embed under *yachin* in contexts where the speaker had partial/unreliable evidence for the embedded proposition. However, the type of evidence is not relevant. The construction was attested with conjectural/inferential evidence as in (5.55), partial direct evidence, as in (5.56), or reportative evidence from an unreliable source.

The above shows that the embedding of *=mi* under *yachin* is not compatible with analysing the enclitic as a marker of certainty, direct evidence, or BPG. To use the latter, the speaker needs to believe in having the BPG (see Section 5.2.2.1), which is not the case if the proposition marked with *=mi* embeds under a weak epistemic modal. The examples above also show that *=mi* cannot be analysed in terms of ‘full epistemic support’ (cf. Boye 2012: chap. 2), since *yachin* encodes less-than full epistemic support. However, if *=mi* is analysed as marker of epistemic authority – ‘the relative right to know or claim’ – it can be reconciled with embedding under *yachin*.

As mentioned in the previous discussion (see Section 5.1.2), epistemic primacy and epistemic certainty belong to different dimensions of knowledge. Therefore, cases where the speaker has epistemic primacy over the information, but is not willing to assert it with certainty, though marginal, are logically possible.

In (5.55) and (5.56) above the main point of both utterances is the embedded proposition (cf. Papafragou 2006; Krifka 2014), with respect to which the speaker claims epistemic authority. Embedding the proposition under a subjective epistemic

---

<sup>63</sup> In the 11-hour corpus of naturalistic discourse, 40 tokens of *yachin*, 25% (n=10) with *=mi*-marked complements.

modal (Papafragou 2006) indicates the speaker's reduced commitment to the embedded proposition (Krifka 2014:14). However, it does not affect the speaker's epistemic primacy. Utterance (5.56) was made in a context where the speaker was not fully aware of his actions, although, by virtue of being the actor, he does have epistemic authority over them. Example (5.55) can also be explained in this way – the speaker does have the epistemic authority to talk about his father and his comings and goings, since the father's habits fall within the speakers' 'territory of information'. However, the speaker is not certain whether it is indeed his father coming. Therefore, the embedding of =*mi*-marked claims under *yachin* could be seen as a strategy of 'epistemic downgrading' (Kärkkäinen 2003; Heritage & Raymond 2005; Stivers et al. 2011).

### 5.3.3.5 The semantics of =*mi*: a summary

In the previous sections, I have shown that the TK =*mi* should be analysed as a marker of the speaker's epistemic authority, understood as the 'relative right to know or claim' (Stivers et al. 2011: 13). The enclitic indicates that the origo's authority over a given piece of information is superior to the authority of the other participants of the interaction. Like other epistemic markers, =*mi* undergoes origo shift in interrogative clauses, where it is anchored not to the speaker, but to the addressee.

The enclitic can be analysed as non-truth conditional, since it cannot be challenged or questioned. Its distribution is limited to declarative and interrogative clauses, while it cannot occur in imperative clauses. Nonetheless, its occurrence is possible in declarative clauses with mild hortative illocutionary force. The enclitic =*mi* scopes over certain propositional operators, such as negation, but does embed under the verbs of speech or thinking or under the weak epistemic modal *yachin*. In the first case, the =*mi*-marked embedded clauses mark perspective different from that of the speaker. In the second, use of the modal indicates the speaker's reduced commitment to the =*mi*-marked proposition. According to recent literature (cf. e.g. Krifka 2014; Faller 2014; Woods 2016), the fact that =*mi* can embed does not necessarily preclude its analysis as an illocutionary marker. I come back to the issue of whether =*mi* and =*cha* can be analysed as illocutionary in Section 5.3.5.

The analysis of =*mi* developed in the sections above complements its analysis as a discourse enclitic (Chapter 3) and focus marker (Chapter 4), and does account for

some of its distributional properties, e.g. for the speaker's choices to use *=mi* over *=cha*, or for its use in performative contexts. However, it still does not explain why, in the contexts with which it is semantically and functionally compatible, *=mi* is not obligatory in the TK discourse. I present further insights into the distribution of *=mi* (compares specifically with *=tá*) in Chapter 6.

### 5.3.4 The semantics of *=cha*: renouncing epistemic primacy

In this section, I focus on the enclitic *=cha*, which has been analysed as an conjectural/inferential (Weber 1986; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002) or conjectural evidential (Faller 2007) in other Quechuan varieties. In Section 5.3.1, I have shown that this analysis does not apply to the TK *=cha*. In the following sections, I show that the enclitic can be analysed as encoding both lack of epistemic primacy, and epistemic possibility. First, I discuss the contribution of *=cha* to the proposition expressed (5.3.4.1). Secondly, I discuss the occurrence of the enclitic in declarative (5.3.4.2) and interrogative clauses (5.3.4.3). I conclude with a brief summary of the marker's semantics (5.3.4.4).

#### 5.3.4.1 *=cha* and the proposition expressed

In Section 5.3.3.1, I discussed a range of tests used to determine the type of contribution a given linguistic element makes to the meaning of the utterance. The first two tests, the known truth/falsity test and the challengeability test, were used to determine whether a marker can be analysed as modal, and whether it encodes truth-conditional meaning. The other two, the embeddability and interrogative scope test, were used in the literature to determine whether a marker can be analysed as illocutionary.

The known truth/falsity test is used to distinguish between modal and non-modal markers. It relies on the assumption that modal markers are not felicitous if the speaker knows the truth value of the assertion (cf. Matthewson 2011). In the previous literature, the cognates of *=cha* were analysed as both evidentials and epistemic modals (Faller 2002; 2007). In TK, *=cha*-marked utterances are very often used in requests for confirmation, which suggests that the speakers are not certain as to the truth-value of the *=cha*-marked propositions. Applying the known/truth falsity tests to the TK *=cha* is not a trivial task, however. As mentioned previously, the out-of-

the-blue utterances marked with the enclitic are interpreted as questions. Consequently, presenting speakers with =*cha*-marked sentences and asking for evaluation of their truth-value is counter-intuitive and confusing, since interrogatives cannot be evaluated with respect to truth-or-falsity. As a result, eliciting truth value evaluations of interrogative utterances would deliver unreliable data. Asking consultants whether they could use =*cha* to mark statements about the truth/falsity they are certain is also counterproductive, since asking about matters about the truth or falsity one knows is not a normal communicative practice.

In naturalistic discourse, =*cha* tends to occur in polar questions which are requests for confirmation. In order to elicit confirmation, the speaker needs to entertain the proposition for which he seeks confirmation as a possibility. This, in turn, suggests that =*cha* does have an epistemic modal value. I explore this point in more detail in Section 5.3.4.2, where I discuss the differences in use of =*cha* and the polar/interrogative marker =*chu*.

The second test, the aim of which is to check whether a given item can be analysed as truth-conditional, is the challengeability test. However, applying it to TK =*cha* poses the same problem as that described above. Only declarative utterances can be challenged or disagreed with, and when speakers are presented with =*cha*-marked utterances in elicitation contexts, they tend to interpret them as interrogative. Nonetheless, attempts to challenge =*cha* in a manner similar to that standardly employed in the challengeability tests are not felicitous:

(5.57)

A:   Kam-ba           kari   shuti           Pablo =**cha**  
       2SG-GEN       man   name           NAME=**cha**

B:   ?Mana,   kan   yacha-ngui=guti  
       NEG   2SG   know-2=guti

Q:   ‘Your husband’s name is Pablo/ Is your husband’s name Pablo?’

A:   ‘No, but you know it!’

elicited

The utterance B in (5.57) was considered infelicitous by the speaker. However, the lack of felicity is not necessarily due to a misfire in challenging =*cha*. The exchange

was considered odd by the consultants. Speakers' judgements about examples such as (5.57) are likely to be influenced by a range of pragmatic factors or conversational conventions, rather than only by the presence or absence of a given marker. Nonetheless, the corpus data and elicitation attempts suggest that *=cha*, like *=mi*, is non-challengeable and therefore can be considered non-truth conditional.

The other two tests are related to the scope of the markers. The embeddability test determines whether the marker can be embedded under propositional operators. In the corpus of TK, *=cha* was not attested in any embedding contexts. Like *=mi*, it scopes over negation, and – unlike *=mi* – it does not embed under verbs of speech or thinking, or the modal verb *yachin*.

The final test is the interrogative scope test, the aim of which is to verify whether a marker can scope over illocutionary acts such as performing a request or asking a question. The enclitic *=cha*, like *=mi*, cannot occur in imperative clauses. As in the case of *=mi*, I interpret this co-occurrence restriction as showing that *=cha* is not compatible with the imperative clause type, rather than showing that it scopes under imperative marking. This conclusion is based on the fact that if *=cha* is analysed as a marker of renouncing epistemic authority, it can only occur in contexts where the origo is endowed with such authority. As discussed in Section 5.3.2, this is not the case in imperative clauses, which are associated with deontic, rather than epistemic authority of the origo.

In sum, the tests described in this section suggest that *=cha* is a non-truth conditional, non-embeddable modal marker, only compatible with declarative and interrogative clauses. In Section 5.3.5, I come back to the scope properties of both *=mi* and *=cha* to discuss the level of meaning on which the markers operate.

#### **5.3.4.2    *=cha* in declarative clauses**

Out-of-the-blue *=cha*-marked utterances are always interpreted as interrogative (see Section 5.3.1). The enclitic only occurs in declaratives in connected discourse, where context shows that a given utterance is not a question to the addressee. Declaratives containing *=cha* are interpreted as dubitative statements or rhetorical questions:



(5.58)

Uşa=llara=**cha**      chi      maska-n,  
louse =ID.REF=**cha** D.DEM      look.for -3

ima=chari.      pariju-manda      maska-nu-sha      tia-nun  
what =chari      on.a.par -ABL      look.for -3PL.SUBJ-COR      be -3PL

‘It might also be lice that [she is] looking for, they both sit there looking [for lice] on each other.’

el\_16082013\_02 059

In (5.58), the speaker narrates a video he has just watched, but has trouble interpreting the actions of the people shown in it. Thus, he uses =*cha* to show that he does not have epistemic primacy and is not willing to vouch for the validity of his conclusions. Utterance (5.59) also comes from re-telling a video:

(5.59)

*Ukllarishka*      *washa*      *payna*      *makira*      *waktanawn*,  
ukllari -shka      washa      payguna      maki -ta      wakta -nun  
embrace -ANT      after      3PL      hand -ACC      hit -3PL

*imarashacha*      *waktanun*      *mana....*      *mana*      *yachani*  
imarasha=**cha**      wakta -nun      mana      mana      yacha -ni  
why      =**cha**      hit -3PL      NEG      NEG      know -1

‘after embracing, they hit hands [hi-five], why do they hit, I don’t....don’t know.’

el\_16082013\_01 152

The speaker has seen people in the video perform the actions he describes, and therefore is entitled to epistemic primacy by virtue of direct access. However, he is unwilling to assume it and uses =*cha*, as well as explicitly stating that he does not know why people in the video are behaving in the way they do.

The occurrence of =*cha* on question words is characteristic for its use in declarative clauses, since in interrogatives the enclitic only occurs in polar question. One of such co-occurrences, *imacha* (‘what=*cha*’) is in the process of becoming lexicalised as a dubitative/rhetorical question particle (see Section 3.3.2.7). The interrogative *ima* is also one of the most frequent hosts for =*cha* in the corpus. This could suggest that

=*cha* used to occur more often in declarative contexts. However, at present the marker is mostly attested in interrogative contexts, which I discuss in the subsequent section.

#### 5.3.4.3 =*cha* in interrogative clauses

As mentioned above, all =*cha*-marked utterances which do not occur in connected discourse are interpreted interrogatively. The fact that out-of-the-blue utterances marked with =*cha* are interpreted as interrogative has already been shown in Section 5.3.1. Below, I repeat the example (5.16), used previously to illustrate that point:

(5.60) = (5.16)

a. #*tamia-shka=cha*

rain-ANT=**cha**

Intended: ‘It must have rained.’ [speaker has not seen the rain, but sees the ground is wet]

b. *tamia-shka=cha*?

rain-ANT=**cha**

‘Has it rained?’

el\_18092014\_01 02

Out of context, the utterance of (5.60a) is considered infelicitous. The enclitic =*cha* is also not the default marker used in conjectural or inferential contexts, where speakers prefer to use the =*mi* + *yachin* (=mi + seem-3, see Section 5.3.3.4), or just *yachin* (seem-3). When consultants were asked to watch a video recording of six three-shell games and guess where the seed has gone in each of them, they did not use =*cha* in their guesses, which would be the strategy employed in other dialects (Faller 2002; 2007). Instead, they opted for =*mi* and/or *yachin*. In the ten minute recording (113 turns), the marker =*cha* did not occur at all.

The above suggests that, as postulated previously, the TK =*cha* cannot be analysed as a conjectural evidential. However, its distribution can be accounted for if it is analysed as a marker of renouncing epistemic primacy by the speaker, and possibly - although more data is needed to corroborate this - as a marker attributing epistemic primacy to the interlocutor (see Section 6.3 for further discussion). Such analysis

would explain why it tends to be interpreted as a request for confirmation. Making a conjecture does not necessarily invite the interlocutor to comment. However, signalling one's lack of epistemic primacy is more likely to prompt the interlocutor to express their opinion. Consequently, analysing *=cha* as a marker of renouncing epistemic primacy would explain why *=cha*-marked statements tend to receive an interrogative interpretation even in the absence of interrogative intonation, which is the key component of marking interrogative clause type in TK (see Section 5.3.2). Consider:

(5.61)

- a.   yaya               yachi-n,       pay-wa               yaya  
       father           seem -3       3SG -GEN           father  
       ‘[the] father, it seems, his father...’

el\_18092014\_02 28

- b.   yaya    yachi   -n,   pay   -wa       yaya **=cha**  
       father   seem   -3   3SG -GEN     father=**cha**  
       ‘[the] father, it seems, is it his father (?)’

elicited

While (5.61a) is a conjectural statement, (5.61b) is interpreted as a request for confirmation of the intuition that the individual in question is in fact the person the speaker supposes he might be.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, *=cha* is not the only TK enclitic which tends to occur in polar interrogatives. The polar question/negation marker *=chu* also occurs in such contexts. While both enclitics occur on focal constituents, the data suggest that *=chu* is used in requests for information, while *=cha* tends to be used to elicit confirmation:

(5.62)

- a.   Kullki-ra       chari-ngui=**chu**       ?  
       money-ACC   have-2=**Q/NEG**  
       ‘Do you have money?’

- b. Kullki-ra chari-ngui=**cha** ?  
 money-ACC have-2 =**cha**  
 ‘So, do you have money?’ [we have agreed before that you were going to bring it]

el\_28052014\_05

Utterance (5.62a) is appropriate without any further context. Utterance (5.62b), on the other hand, is felicitous if the interlocutors have previously agreed that the addressee was going to bring money, and the speaker is following up on the matter. Therefore, the meaning of =*cha* could be analysed as similar to that of English tag questions – the speaker assumes that the =*cha*-marked proposition is the case, but wants to give the addressee the option to negate it (cf. Krifka 2013: 10). The above shows that there is a parallel between the TK =*cha* and the South Conchucos Quechua marker of individual conjecture, -*chri*. In SCQ, -*chri* is used, similarly to =*cha*, to mark the speaker’s conjecture and elicit confirmation from the addressee (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 11). However, as I show below, the occurrence of =*cha* is not limited to utterances based on conjectural evidence.

The discussion above suggests that the difference between =*cha* and =*chu* lies in the level of epistemic support encoded by each of the markers (cf. Boye 2012, see Section 5.1.2). The use of =*chu* does not require the speaker to commit to any evaluation of the epistemic possibility regarding the proposition. The marker could be analysed as ‘epistemically neutral’ (cf. Faller 2002: 166; Boye 2012: 66) and the =*chu*-marked propositions are simply added to the set of questions under discussion. On the basis on the current data, it is unclear whether =*chu* is simply neutral with respect to epistemic primacy, or whether it indicates that the epistemic primacy is not held either by the speaker, or the addressee. By making a =*cha*-marked utterance, on the other hand, the speaker makes a conjecture, but also explicitly renounces epistemic primacy. This difference in the use of the two markers is apparent in (5.63):

(5.63)

- A: Alli=**cha** kasna-y=ga ? o... yapa ashka=chu?  
 good=**cha** like.this-LOC=ga or very much=Q/NEG  
 ‘Would it [be] good like this? Or is it too much?’

B:     Alli =mi (...)  
           good=mi  
           ‘All good.’

in\_20092013 012-13

In (5.63), two speakers talk about the food they are preparing. B has just taught A how to prepare the dish, and A followed the instructions. She uses =*cha* in the first clause of her utterance to make sure that she has done it well. However, she does not have a notion of how much filling she should have used, and hence uses =*chu* in the second clause.

In the discussion so far, I have been analysing =*cha* as encoding lack of epistemic primacy. Nonetheless, the examples given so far do not explicitly prove this analysis. The examples, as well as the discussion of the marker’s properties (Section 5.3.4.1), might suggest that =*cha* could be analysed as an interrogative marker encoding weak epistemic support, and only implicating lack of epistemic primacy. If the enclitic was a dubitative interrogative marker, it would be expected to occur in all interrogative contexts. However, example (5.64) shows that this is not the case:

(5.64)

Context: conversation about a third person both interlocutors know equally well.

a.   Pay-wa           shuti           Pedru=**chu** ?  
       3SG-GEN       name           NAME=**Q/NEG**  
       ‘Is his name Pedro?’

b.   \*Pay-wa           shuti           Pedru =**cha** ?  
       3SG-GEN       name           NAME=**cha**  
       Intended: ‘Is his name Pedro?’

elicited

In (5.64), both interlocutors have equal epistemic primacy, since they know the person who is the subject of the enquiry equally well. Therefore, the use of =*cha* is infelicitous, as shown in (5.64b). The opposite situation occurs in (5.65):

(5.65)

Context: Conversation about the addressee's husband

a. Kam-ba kari shuti Pablo=**cha** ?

2SG-GEN man name NAME=**cha**

'Is your husband's name Pablo?'

b. ?Kam-ba kari shuti Pablo=**chu** ?

2SG-GEN man name NAME=**Q/NEG**

Intended : 'Is your husband's name Pablo?'

elicited

In (5.65), the subject of the conversation is the husband of the addressee and it is the addressee who holds the epistemic primacy. The =*cha*-marked utterance in (5.65) indexes the speaker's lack of epistemic primacy with regard to the subject matter. The =*chu*-marked utterance in (5.65b) is judged odd, since it is neutral with respect to epistemic primacy, and therefore fails to acknowledge that in this case the authority laid with the addressee. Although at this stage this is only a hypothesis, this utterance might be dispreferred due to considerations related to politeness. Evidence to support or disprove this hypothesis could come from conversations between interlocutors who vary substantially in epistemic authority, e.g. a student and a teacher or parents and children. At this stage, not enough data is available to check the distribution of =*chu* and =*cha* in such contexts.

In Section 5.3.3.1, I have discussed the occurrence of =*mi* in declarative and interrogative clauses, showing that it undergoes the 'origo shift'. In declarative clauses, the marker was anchored to the speaker, and in interrogative clauses – to the addressee. The discussion of =*cha* shows that this enclitic does not undergo the origo shift. In both in declarative and interrogative clauses it is anchored to the speaker. At this stage, I am unable to provide an explanation for this property of =*cha*. Nonetheless, lack of origo shift is not unprecedented in epistemic marking systems across languages – certain markers in the evidential system of Tibetan also remain anchored to the speaker (Manuel Widmer, p.c. 17 March 2016).

In the discussion thus far, there has been little discussion about the sources of evidence which speakers have for making =*cha*-marked utterances. I have shown in

Section 5.3.1 that =*cha*, unlike its cognates, is not felicitous in declaratives based on conjectural evidence. The examples below show that when speakers use the =*cha*-marked interrogatives to elicit confirmation, their suppositions can be based on different types of indirect evidence:

(5.66)

Imasna=ra=y,                      tamia-w-n=**dza**?

What=ta=y                      rain-PROG=**cha**

‘What could it be, is it raining?’

el\_25092014\_01 009

Utterance in (5.66) is based on inferential/conjectural evidence. The speaker is inside the house and hears noise, which sounds like rain. He utters (5.66) to solicit confirmation about whether it is raining. Note that a =*cha*-marked declarative statement uttered in the same context, shown in (5.60), was rejected as infelicitous. In (5.67), =*cha* occurs in an utterance based on pure conjecture. The speaker has seen the addressee’s husband borrowing a wheelbarrow from a neighbour, and she supposes he borrowed it to transport construction materials:

(5.67)

Tsatsa-ra      wasi      ra-nga=**cha**                      asta-nga      ra-w-n                      ?

sand-ACC      house      make-PURP=**cha**      load-FUT      AUX-PROG-3

‘He will load sand to make a house [won’t he]?’

ev\_24052013\_01 015

In (5.68), =*cha* occurs in an utterance based on reportative evidence. The speaker is requesting clarification about a detail in the addressee’s life story, which the addressee has previously narrated:

(5.68)

kan      maybi-ra      riksi-ka-ngui,      kay-bi                      o

2SG      where-ACC      meet-PST-2      P.DEM-LOC                      or

ura-ma=**cha**            ri-ka-ngui,    Limoncocha-ma ?

low-DAT=**cha**            go-PST-2    NAME-DAT

‘Where did you meet [your husband], here, or [when] you went down to Limoncocha?’

in\_13082014\_01 078

Examples of =*cha* on statements based on direct, clearly interpretable evidence were not attested in the elicited discourse corpus. As shown in Section 5.3.3.4, in cases where the speaker was a primary agent, but was not sure of her own actions, the preferred construction was =*mi* embedded under the weak epistemic modal.

The non-occurrence of =*cha* in utterances based on direct evidence need not support its analysis as an inferential/conjectural evidential. As mentioned above, =*cha* can only occur in conjectural questions, not in statements. Moreover, it is to be expected that a marker which encodes both lack of epistemic primacy and weak epistemic support would not occur in utterances where the speaker is entitled to epistemic primacy by virtue of direct evidence for, or direct access to the information.

#### 5.3.4.4    **The semantics of =*cha*: a summary**

In the sections above, I have discussed the meaning of the enclitic =*cha*. I have shown that, unlike its cognates from other Quechuan varieties, it does not encode a conjectural evidential meaning and that it should rather be analysed as encoding epistemic possibility and lack of epistemic primacy.

The occurrence of =*cha* in unconnected discourse triggers an interrogative interpretation. Consequently, the enclitic is not readily evaluable by means of tests standardly applied to assess the truth-conditionality of epistemic markers. The patterns attested in discourse, as well as a tentative application of the challengeability test to =*cha*, suggests that it could be analysed as an epistemic modal, and as a non-truth conditional marker. However, these results should be corroborated by a wider array of tests, possibly ones designed specifically to analyse markers encoding meanings related to epistemic primacy. In particular, the impossibility of applying the known/truth falsity test to TK =*cha* shows that more fine-grained tools are needed to account for the properties of epistemic marking system in TK, and possibly related systems encountered cross-linguistically.



The scope-related tests have shown that *=cha* does not occur in embedding contexts, and that, like *=mi*, it is ungrammatical in imperative clauses. These properties suggest that *=cha* could be analysed as an illocutionary marker (see Section 5.3.5).

Examples from both elicited and naturalistic discourse show that the marker occurs mostly in interrogative utterances, where it is used to elicit confirmation of the speaker's prior intuition from the addressee. In this respect, it differs from the polar question/negation marker *=chu*, which is used to elicit information, and is neutral both in terms of epistemic possibility and epistemic primacy. In declarative clauses, *=cha* is used in rhetorical questions, which, taken out of the context of connected discourse, would also be interpreted as having an interrogative illocutionary force.

### 5.3.5 The TK epistemic primacy markers and the levels of meaning

In the previous sections, I have discussed the semantics of the enclitics *=mi* and *=cha*. I have shown that while they can both be analysed as non-truth conditional, they differ in their embedding properties. While *=mi* can be embedded under verbs of speech and thinking, and under the weak epistemic modal *yachin* ('seem-3'), *=cha* does not occur in embedded contexts. Moreover, both markers are ungrammatical in imperative clauses, but can occur in declaratives and interrogatives.

Quechuan evidentials have previously been analysed as non-truth conditional, illocutionary markers (cf. Faller 2002; 2007; 2014). Faller (2002) analyses the Cuzco Quechua *=mi* as an illocutionary modifier of sincerity conditions, encoding the speaker's belief in having the best possible ground for making a speech act. Under this analysis, in unmarked assertions the speaker's belief in having the BPG is implicated, rather than encoded. Initially, Faller took non-embeddability as evidence for illocutionary status of evidential enclitics (Faller 2002). More recent research has shown that the CQ *=mi* can be embedded in finite speech complements (Faller 2014). However, recent studies have also shown that in some contexts, illocutionary operators can be embedded (cf. Krifka 2014; Woods 2016), which led Faller to conclude that the illocutionary analyses of the CQ evidentials can be maintained. The CQ marker *=cha*, like *=mi*, was analysed as non-truth conditional, illocutionary modifier. Unlike *=mi*, *=cha* was shown to be not only an evidential, but also an epistemic modal, operating on the illocutionary level (Faller 2007).

The analysis cited above does not consider the fact that non-truth conditional meaning and restricted embeddability are compatible not only with modification of illocutionary force, but also with modification of sentential force (cf. Portner 2006). Analysis of CQ evidentials as ‘sentential force specifiers’ rather than illocutionary modifiers was suggested by Portner (2006). In his view, illocutionary modification is pragmatic in nature, and consequently it should not be grammaticalised or expressed on the level of morphosyntax. He argued that modification which applies to the morphosyntax of the clause, operates on the level of sentential, rather than illocutionary force (cf. Portner 2006; Bruil 2014).

The TK *=mi* lends itself well to the illocutionary modifier analysis analogous to that proposed by Faller (2002; 2014). The enclitic modifies the ‘communicative intentions of the speaker’, which was shown most clearly in Section 5.3.3.2, where I discussed the illocutionary forces arising from the co-occurrence of *=mi* with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> subject verbs. Although *=mi* only occurs in declarative and interrogative clauses, recent research has shown that illocutionary markers can be restricted to certain clause types (Coniglio & Zegrean 2012). In the case of *=mi*, the restriction related to clause-type can be explained by the fact that the epistemic authority meaning of *=mi* can only apply to clause types in which the ‘direction of fit’ is from the world to the words and, consequently, the authority of the origo is epistemic.

Declarative clauses, even if they have directive illocutionary force, still constitute an update of the common ground, rather than an update of the to-do list (cf. Portner 2006), and as such, can be reconciled with the notion of epistemic authority/primacy. Therefore, by uttering *=mi*-marked hortatives discussed in Section 5.3.3.2, the speaker is expressing their opinion about how the world should be, but does not undertake an immediate attempt to change the world. Therefore, *=mi* could be analysed as an illocutionary modifier, encoding epistemic primacy of the speaker, which is otherwise implicated in declarative clauses. This analysis is analogous to the analysis of the CQ *=mi* as an illocutionary modifier of sincerity conditions encoding BPG (cf. Faller 2002). A similar analysis could be put forward for *=cha*. That enclitic could be analysed as an illocutionary modal marker (cf. Faller 2007), encoding lack of the speaker’s epistemic primacy, otherwise implicated in interrogative clauses.

As mentioned above, other authors would argue that Quechuan discourse enclitics modify not only the speaker's communicative intention, but also the morphosyntactic form of the clause, and as such should not be considered illocutionary (Portner 2006). If *=mi* was to be analysed as a modifier of clause type, or specifier of sentential force, it would require a more fine-grained analysis of TK clause types. The inventory would have to go beyond the three basic types described in Section 5.3.2, since the occurrence of *=mi* does not bring about a change that can be described in terms of change between interrogative/assertive/imperative sentential force. The correlation between clause type and occurrence of the marker can, on the other hand, be observed for *=cha*. Utterances marked with the enclitic are interpreted as interrogative, unless this interpretation is neutralised by the discourse context. However, as mentioned above, it could also be argued that the interrogative interpretation of *=cha*-marked utterances is due to the marker operating on the level of the illocutionary, and not sentential force.

The discussion above shows that determining the level of meaning on which the TK epistemic authority markers affect the utterance is not a trivial task. This complication is due in part to the vagueness of the notion of illocutionary modification. As remarked by Bergqvist (2015: 10), 'the concept of illocutionary modification remains vague with respect to what aspects of the speech-act are subject to modification'. The discussion of the properties of *=mi* and *=cha* shows that individual markers within the same paradigm can vary in terms of embedding properties, or the nature of their interaction with clause type or illocutionary force of utterances. Markers with wide scope, and meaning related to intersubjective aspects of the discourse context, are difficult to test in terms of how exactly their presence affects the content of the clause (Bergqvist 2015: 12).

In sum, on the basis of the currently available data, it is difficult to establish whether the TK discourse enclitics modify the illocutionary or sentential force of utterances. A more detailed analysis of these matters needs to be carried out in the future. The issues with determining on which level of meaning the markers operate also points to the insufficiency of tests standardly applied to evidential or epistemic modal markers. This suggests that investigating a more complex range of epistemic meanings requires developing new tools, which could capture the fine-grained semantic and

functional distinctions more accurately. It also shows that studying epistemic systems of under-described languages can teach us a lot about the range of semantic and functional distinctions conceptually available in the domain of epistemic perspective.

## 5.4 The semantics of other discourse enclitics

In the previous sections, I have focused on the cognates of Quechuan evidentials *=mi* and *=cha*. I have also briefly discussed the semantics of *=chu*, and how it contrasts with *=cha*, and have mentioned the partial overlap of the meaning of *=mi* and *=ta*. However, there are other markers with potentially epistemic meanings: *=ma*, *=mari* and *=chari*. The data currently available is not sufficient for a thorough analysis of these markers, but the aim of this section is to complement the information about the IS function of the markers discussed in Chapter 4 by providing the reader with a preliminary idea of the markers' semantics.

### 5.4.1 Possible interpretation of *=ma*

As shown in the previous chapters, *=ma* shares distributional and information structural properties with the enclitic *=mi*: they both occur on clausal heads, and can mark information and contrastive foci. As far as the data show, in most contexts *=mi* and *=ma* occur in free variation. In elicitation contexts, when consultants were asked to translate sentences from Spanish, they have often volunteered clauses marked with *=mi*, but never with *=ma*, even if, when asked in the follow-up, they said that *=ma* would also be appropriate in the same context. When *=mi* or *=ma* occurred in naturalistic discourse, I have often asked consultants in the process of transcription whether in a given context the markers could occur interchangeably. This was most often the case, and at this stage I am not able to make any conclusions about the contexts in which one of the markers was preferred over the other. The examination of these discourse contexts, and more targeted elicitation, should be one of the priorities in the future research on TK discourse enclitics.

The one context in which there is a clear discrepancy is embedding under the modal *yachin* ('seem-3'). As described in Section 5.3.3.4, *=mi* embeds under the modal verb, but *=ma* was not attested in such contexts either in elicitation or in the

naturalistic discourse corpus. Nonetheless, in the entire naturalistic discourse corpus of 11 hours, the embedding of *=mi* under *yachin* was only attested 8 times. Given the overall lower frequency of *=ma* (see Section 3.3.2.3), this suggests that the conclusion that *=ma* is not embeddable under *yachin* would need to be confirmed by negative evidence. Although both markers can embed under verbs of speech, *=ma* only occurred six times, as opposed to 177 occurrences of *=mi* in the corpus.

It has been proposed that discourse markers can vary in terms of whether they are related to subjective or objective sources of discourse coherence. A relation of coherence is subjective if the speaker is engaged in creating it, either by reasoning or in performing a speech act in one or both segments connected by the marker (Sanders et al. 2016: 4). An objective relation arises when the speaker is merely reporting the situation which takes place in the outside world (Sanders et al. 2016: 4). The subjective/objective contrast also does not help explicate the difference between *=mi* and *=ma*. Both markers occur in both types of contexts. Consider the example of a subjective construction below:

(5.69)

|             |                |             |                 |                       |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>ñuka</i> | <i>rikukpi</i> | <i>mana</i> | <i>allima</i>   | <i>sikanawshka...</i> |
| ñuka        | riku-kpi       | mana        | alli= <b>ma</b> | sika -nushka...       |
| 1SG         | see-SWREF      | NEG         | good= <b>ma</b> | go.up-3PL.ANT         |

‘According to me [the customs] have escalated [lit. gone up] the wrong way...’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 333

(5.70)

|         |        |          |                |                   |
|---------|--------|----------|----------------|-------------------|
| Kallari | tiempo | ruku-wna | yacha-chi-shka | alli= <b>mi</b> . |
| former  | time   | old-PL   | known-CAUS-ANT | good= <b>mi</b>   |

‘What the ancestors have taught [us was] good.’

KICHB07AGOPEDROCHIMBO1 558

Both (5.69) and (5.70) are examples of subjective, evaluative predicates. In the corpus *=mi* and *=ma* can occur in both positive and negative polarity clauses.

In other varieties of Quechua, the cognates of *=ma* were analysed as either an emphatic version of *=mi* (Cole 1982: 170-1), as ‘impressive marker’ (Faller 2002),

or as a marker of ‘confirmation of mutual knowledge’ (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 4), that is ‘knowledge that both the speaker and the addressee have acquired firsthand and of which they are certain’ (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 10). The currently available data does not allow to convincingly resolve whether these analyses could also be applied to TK. Moreover, it is not clear what the authors mentioned above meant by ‘emphasis’ or ‘impression’. The emphatic interpretation does not seem to apply to TK, where utterances marked with *=mi* and *=ma* seem to have very similar emotive values. Also, unlike the Sihuas Quechua ‘confirmation of mutual knowledge marker,’ *=ma* can co-occur with future tense. On the basis of the data available at the moment, it is not clear what the properties of *=ma* are in interrogatives, and whether its use with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person subjects gives rise to pragmatic effects similar to those described for *=mi* (see Section 5.3.3.2). The role of both markers in conditional clauses should also be explored in more detail in the future. Potentially, investigating the distribution of *=ma* in the constructions listed above will shed some light on its semantics, and on how it contrasts with *=mi*. On the other hand, it is also plausible that the two markers vary along the lines of epistemic or intersubjective parameters which have so far not been considered relevant to the grammatical structure of TK.

#### 5.4.2 Possible interpretations of *=mari* and *=chari*

The other two discourse markers which cannot be satisfactorily described on the basis of the available data are *=mari* and *=chari*. They have previously been analysed as emphatic equivalents of *=mi* and *=cha*, respectively. The distributional properties of the markers (see Chapter 3), and their role in focus marking (see Chapter 4) are sufficiently similar to warrant considering the ‘emphatic equivalent’ analysis for the TK markers. The fact that *=mi* and *=mari*, and *=cha* and *=chari* are judged as interchangeable in many discourse contexts suggests that *=mari* and *=chari* carry some sort of an epistemic meaning. It also appears that *=mari*, like *=mi*, undergoes origo shift in interrogative clauses:

(5.71)

|                         |           |           |    |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|----|
| Shuwa-sha= <b>mari</b>  | apa -nga  | ra -w     | -n |
| steal -COR= <b>mari</b> | take -FUT | AUX -PROG | -3 |

‘he will take it, stealing...’

el\_24092014\_03 39

(5.72)

Abi=**mari** kay-wa=s ?

NAME=**mari** P.DEM -DIM=ADD

‘Is this Abi's too?’

attested

In (5.71), the speaker is narrating the Pear Story video as she watches it and realises that a boy who appears in the scene is not a son of another protagonist, but a thief who will steal his fruit. If *=mari* is an epistemic marker with a meaning related to that of *=mi*, in this case it is clearly indexed to the speaker. Example (5.72) was uttered in the context of two women taking clothes down from a laundry line. The speaker picked up a child's skirt and looked at it from up close, unable to recognise who it belongs to. Subsequently, she uttered (5.72) to the addressee, who is the aunt of the alleged owner of the skirt – a girl the speaker, too, knows very well. The problem with analysing *=mari* as an emphatic equivalent of *=mi* (as well as the *=cha* /*=chari* pair) is defining what ‘emphatic’ should stand for. In general, the utterances marked with *=mi* and *=mari* occur in similar communicative contexts, and it does not seem that the occurrence of *=mari* could be linked to the speaker wanting to draw particular attention to the content of the utterance, or wishing to influence the addressee to a greater extent than a *=mi*-marked utterance would. Another interpretation of the TK *=mari*, hypothetical at this stage, is that it could encode the speaker's assumption that the addressee has failed to notice something that should be obvious. Such interpretation is suggested by many of the discourse contexts in which *=mari* occurs. A discourse marker encoding such a meaning was attested in Kogi (Chibchan, Colombia, cf. Bergqvist 2016: 8) and further research should explore whether the TK *=mari* could be analysed in this way.

In Section 5.3.3.1, I have mentioned that the TK *=mi* is not plausibly related to existential closure. Examples (5.71) and (5.72) show that *=mari* can occur in clauses both with and without existential closure. However, future research should examine how the actualisation of events relates to the use of *=chari*. In the elicited discourse corpus *=chari* most often occurs with the interrogative particle *ima* (‘what’). This collocation seems to have become lexicalised as a hypothetical/dubitative/irrealis marker, which often co-occurs in the same clause with another instance of *=chari*:

(5.73)

Shu warmi pay-wa pani-ra=**chari**, ima=**chari**  
one woman 3SG -GEN sister.of.male-ACC=**chari** what =**chari**

chi-ta salura-nga -sha pakta-mu-n  
D.DEM-ACC greet-PURP-COR arrive -CIS-3

‘A woman, [possibly] to his sister or someone else, [she] arrives to greet [the two man sitting in the video frame].’

el\_16082013\_01 067

Example (5.73) was translated into Spanish in the subjunctive mood. This was the case for all the other =*chari*-marked clauses in the corpus, even in the absence of a conditional construction or the FUT/irrealis marker *-nga*, as shown in the example above. Although translation is not sufficient evidence for the validity of this interpretation of =*chari*, future research should look into the relation between the marker and existential closure. The possible epistemic and intersubjective meaning of =*chari* also remains to be explored in more detail.

## 5.5 Summary: epistemic authority marking in TK

Over the course of this chapter, I have discussed the notion of evidentiality, highlighted the issues pertinent to defining it, and mentioned how it has been related to other semantic domains in the literature. I have also shown that the TK enclitics =*mi* and =*cha* should be analysed as markers related to the origo’s epistemic primacy. More specifically, the =*mi* can be analysed as encoding the origo’s epistemic authority, whereas =*cha* encodes the speaker’s lack thereof. While =*mi* undergoes origo shift in interrogative clauses, =*cha* is always anchored to the speaker. Both markers only occur in declarative and interrogative clauses, and are ungrammatical with imperative marking. The meaning of both enclitics contributes to the clause is non-truth conditional, and whilst =*mi* does not pattern like a modal, =*cha* seems to encode a weak epistemic modal value. The enclitic =*mi* can embed under verbs of speech and thinking, as well as under a weak epistemic modal *yachin* (‘seem-3’), whereas =*cha* does not occur in embedding contexts. It is unclear whether the markers contribute to the meaning of the clause on the level of illocutionary or



sentential force. While *=mi* seems to interact more with the illocutionary force of the clause, the occurrence of *=cha* always leads to an interrogative interpretation of the utterance, which could suggest that the marker could be seen as operating on the level of sentential force.

Apart from *=mi* and *=cha*, I have also briefly discussed other discourse markers. I have shown that *=chu* occurs in certain contexts in which *=cha* could also be expected, but that it seems to be epistemically and modally neutral. The verum focus enclitic *=tá* also indexes the speaker's epistemic primacy, and in some contexts it can be used interchangeably with *=mi*. In Chapter 6, I show that the difference between these markers can be accounted for if the speaker's expectation of hearer's knowledge is taken into account. I have also briefly discussed the markers *=ma*, *=mari* and *=chari*. While the first two seem to encode meanings somehow related to the epistemic primacy meaning of *=mi*, the enclitic *=chari* is more akin to *=cha*. The details of their semantics remain to be explored in future research.

## **Chapter 6      Common Ground management: a shared task of Information Structure and epistemic marking**

In the previous chapters, I have identified the paradigm of TK discourse enclitics, and discussed their role in marking information structure and epistemic primacy. In this chapter, I focus on those aspects of the meaning of the enclitics which go beyond their IS-marking functions and epistemic primacy semantics.

I begin by following up on the discussion of the distributional properties of TK discourse enclitic from previous chapters. Thus far in the thesis, I have pointed to several factors which might influence the distribution of the TK markers, such as the information structural role of their host, or the origo's epistemic authority over the information conveyed. However, even if all the considerations discussed in the previous chapters are taken into account, it is still far from clear why the TK discourse enclitics only occur in a relatively small percentage of utterances in the corpus. In Section 6.1, I propose that the distribution of at least some markers can be accounted for to a fuller extent if we consider expectation as one of its conditioning factors.

Secondly, I show how the two aspects of the meaning of the TK discourse enclitics – marking epistemic primacy and marking IS categories – can be seen as having the same communicative function. I explain that both IS marking and epistemic primacy marking are strategies used to manage Common Ground (CG) in the process of communication (Chapter 6). Thirdly, I show how the emergence of meanings related to CG management which derive from evidential meanings is in line with cross-linguistically attested processes of grammaticalisation and semantic change (6.3). Consequently, I briefly present a proposal of how marking of CG management can be situated with respect to the epistemic marking systems attested in other languages (6.4). Finally, I provide a short summary of the chapter (6.5).

## 6.1 Accounting for the distribution of discourse enclitics: the relevance of expectation

In previous chapters, I have discussed the different distributional properties of the TK discourse enclitics. I have mentioned that they are not syntactically obligatory. I have shown that they only occur on phrasal heads (see Chapter 3), and – with the exception of *=chu* – in declarative and interrogative clauses (Chapter 5). In Chapter 4, I have shown that the occurrence of the different discourse markers correlates with IS categories of focus, topic, or background. In Chapter 5, I have explained in which discourse contexts, involving distribution of information between speech act participants, certain markers are chosen over the others. However, thus far I have not accounted for why the markers are absent in so many contexts where they would be syntactically and semantically appropriate in the light of the previous discussion.

In this section, I show that the distribution of some of the TK discourse markers can be accounted for more accurately if the factor of expectation is taken into consideration. In the probability-theoretical sense, expectation, or expected value, is the predicted value of a variable, calculated as the sum of all possible values each multiplied by the probability of its occurrence (cf. Merin & Nikolaeva 2008). By analogy, a discourse participants' expectation as to how communication will develop is tantamount to a development they judge the most probable in a given situation; this is in light of the information they have access to, and their general knowledge about the world.

In the literature to date, expectation has been considered relevant to the marking of (contrastive) foci (cf. Zimmermann 2008; Matic 2015). Zimmermann (2008: 348) defines contrastivity as related to the fact that a particular focal information is 'unexpected for the hearer from the speaker's perspective'. The more unexpected the content is for the hearer, the more likely the speaker is to use special grammatical marking. This observation is relevant to the use of discourse markers in TK. As discussed in Chapter 4, *=mi* surfaces most often in contrastive constructions, but is not limited to the cases where clear alternatives are present in discourse contexts. In the paragraphs that follow I show that in order to account for the distribution of *=mi*, the speaker's assumptions about what the hearer considers likely or unlikely need to

be taken into account (cf. Zimmermann 2008: 348). This property of *=mi* becomes particularly evident when it is contrasted with the verum focus marker *=tá*. Conversely to *=mi*, *=tá* tends to occur in contexts where the speaker assumes that the assertion he is making is in line with the expectations of the hearer.

In Chapter 4, it was demonstrated that several enclitics are associated with focal content in TK. In Chapter 5, I concentrated on the semantic differences between them. I have shown that the choice between *=mi* and *=cha* in declaratives amounts to the difference in the epistemic authority the speaker holds – or wishes to project – over the information conveyed. On the other hand, the distributional difference between the verum focus *=tá* and information/contrastive focus *=mi* cannot be reduced to a difference in epistemic authority, which lies with the speaker in both cases. However, the two markers can be distinguished along the lines of whether the speaker judges the content of their utterance as expected or unexpected to the hearer. Consider:

(6.1) = (4.52)

A: kam-ba                warmi                may-bi=*ra*                [a-n] ?  
      2SG-GEN            woman                where-LOC=*ta*           [be-3]  
      ‘Where is your wife?’

B: wasi-y=**mi**                /                \*wasi-y=**rá**  
      house-LOC=**mi**           /                house-LOC=**tá**  
      ‘[She is] at home.’

A: wasi-y=*cha* ?  
      where-LOC=*cha*  
      ‘At home?’

B: wasi-y=**rá**                !  
      house-LOC=**tá**  
      ‘Yes, [she IS] at home!’

el\_28112014\_05

As discussed in Section 4.5.2, for *=tá* to be felicitous, the proposition needs to be textually evoked in prior discourse, that is, introduced into the set of questions under

discussion. No such requirement exists for *=mi*. In B's first utterance in (6.1), *=mi*, but not *=tá* is felicitous: B is not expecting A to have a notion of where his wife might be. When the proposition that B's wife is at home is introduced and A asks for confirmation, B responds with *=tá*. At this stage in the conversation, B can already assume that A expects that B's wife is at home. Nonetheless, whether or not the proposition belongs to questions under discussion does not seem to be sufficient to determine whether it can be marked with *=mi* or *=tá*. Consider:

(6.2)

Q: Riku-ngui=*chu* ?

see -2 =Q/NEG

'Do you see [them]?'

a. Ari, riku-ni=**mi** / Ari, riku-ni=**rá**

yes see-1 =**mi** / yes see-1=**tá**

'Yes, I see. / I DO see.'

b. Mana riku-ni=**mi**. / \*Mana riku-ni=**rá**

NEG see-1 =**mi** / \*NEG see-1=**tá**

'I don't see.' / \*'I DO NOT see.'

e1\_28112014\_05

The exchange in (6.2) could occur in the context of two people watching the road, and one of them seeing two people approaching on a motorbike. The current question under discussion is introduced by the interrogative utterance. The affirmative and negative answers are alternatives which can be incorporated into the CG when the question is resolved. I propose that the choice between *=mi* and *=tá* in the examples above is related to whether the speaker assumes the hearer expects a given response. If they do, the proposition is marked by *=tá*. If they do not, it is marked by *=mi*. The felicity of both enclitics in (6.2a) is due to the fact that it is ultimately down to the speaker to evaluate their interlocutors' state of mind, and in certain contexts, this evaluation cannot be predicted on the basis of situational and/or discourse context. For now, I will leave aside the ungrammaticality of *=tá* in negative polarity clauses,

and will focus on the expectation-based explanation for the distribution of *=mi* and *=tá*.

The enclitic *=tá* was not grammatical in the answer to the content question in (6.1) above, but it was grammatical in the answer to the polar question in (6.2a), which I have justified by stipulating that to occur with *=tá*, a proposition needs to belong to the set of Questions under Discussion (henceforth QUD). Matić (2015) proposes a framework of modelling expectations in discourse, which also takes into account how the information is related to QUD. In the paragraphs below, I briefly introduce the categories proposed by Matić (2015), and show how they contribute to explaining the distribution of *=mi* and *=tá* in TK discourse.

Matić (2015) incorporates expectation into the relevance-theoretical model of communication. While all utterances convey propositions, only the propositions that carry most relevance are asserted, updating the CG, and the update can only occur in the activated part of CG (henceforth aCG). The aCG, or communicative context, is created by propositions which are less relevant than the asserted ones. Those context-creating propositions also determine the set of QUD. Every point in discourse evokes possible answers to the current QUD, which can be expected or unexpected in relation to the current aCG. Moreover, the questions in the QUD evoke expectations with different degrees of specificity. The degrees of specificity translate into different types of specification required for the ensuing utterance to be informative – the type of specification corresponds to the part of the proposition which is not given in the current aCG. Matić (2015: 3) distinguishes three kinds of expectation and four types of specification:

## Figure 6.1 Types of expectation and specification

### *Three types of expectations*

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. ENTAILED & EXPECTED  | – an eventuality is entailed by the QUD/aCG and as such expected        |
| 2. PLAUSIBLE & POSSIBLE | – an eventuality is plausible in the given QUD/aCG and as such possible |
| 3. UNDERSPECIFIED       | – an eventuality is unrelated to/underspecified as to the QUD/aCG       |

### *Four types of specification*

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| A. FULLY SPECIFIED     | – an eventuality is fully defined/given (whole proposition in domain restriction) |
| B. PARTIALLY SPECIFIED | – an eventuality minus one element is defined/given                               |
| C. TYPE-SPECIFIED      | – the type of the eventuality is defined/given                                    |
| D. UNSPECIFIED         |   |

Possible combinations: 1B, 1C, 1D; 2A, 2C; 3D

Matić (2015: 3)

The possible combinations of the type of expectation with type of specification are restricted, as shown below the tables in Figure 6.1. If an Entailed & Expected (E&E) event was fully specified, asserting it would be uninformative. If events are Plausible & Possible (P&P) in the light of the aCG, they cannot be unspecified, since unspecified events are compatible with anything, and not just the activated CG. On the other hand, they cannot be partially specified, since the same assertion cannot both identify an eventuality and assert its existence (cf. Matić 2015: 4). The events underspecified with respect to aCG are only compatible with no specification at all.

The type of specification influences the interpretation of a given clause, determining the scope of focus. In case of unspecified events, the whole clause is in the scope of focus. In type-specified events, the focus is on the predicate, and in partially specified events – on one of the arguments of the clause. Fully specified events are only compatible with verum focus constructions, where the only asserted element of the clause is its polarity. As shown in Chapter 4,  $=tá$  is only compatible with verum focus constructions, that is, with fully specified events. From the set of possible combinations constructed by Matić (2015), it follows that fully specified events can only be of the P&P type, that is, they need to be plausible and possible in the light of the currently activated CG and with respect to QUD. Examples of  $=tá$  from the TK discourse corpus confirm that it only occurs in such contexts. Consider:

(6.3) = (4.47)

A: *Apachijllara* *pambana?*  
 apa-chi-j=llara pamba-na  
 bring-CAUS-AG.NMLZ=ID.REF bury-INF  
 ‘[So] the midwife herself has to bury [the placenta]?’

B: *Apachijllara* *pambanará / #pambanami*  
 apa-chi-j=llara pamba-na=**tá** / pamba-na=**mi**  
 bring-CAUS-AG.NMLZ=ID.REF bury-INF=**tá** / bury-INF=**mi**  
 ‘Yes, [she] does have to bury [it] herself.’

in\_08102014\_02 164-165

In (6.3), A asks a confirmation question, and B confirms that the CG should develop in accordance with what is plausible and possible in this context. This suggests that for =*tá* to be used felicitously, the proposition needs to be fully-specified, and the answer needs to be congruent with what the speaker thinks the addressee is expecting.

In (6.3), the use of =*mi* is judged odd. Below, I show that this is due to the fact that for =*mi* to be used felicitously, the speaker needs to assume that the addressee is not expecting the proposition to be the case. Unlike =*tá*, =*mi* is compatible with all the different specification/expectation combinations. However, it is only obligatory in propositions which convey an unexpected and unspecified event. The obligatoriness of =*mi* in such contexts is due to the fact that they are by default incongruent with the expectations of the addressee. A default example of an underspecified, unspecified utterance, in which the speaker asserts a proposition they think goes against the hearer’s expectation of how the CG should develop, are contrastive focus constructions (Zimmermann 2008: 355). Consider:

(6.4) = (4.61) = (4.41)

mana ñuka ushi=chu, ñuka warmi=**mi** / \*warmi / \*warmi=**rá**  
 NEG 1SG daughter=Q/NEG 1SG woman=**mi** / \*woman / \*woman=**tá**  
 ‘[She is] not my daughter, [she is] my wife.’

el\_28112014\_05



Utterance (6.4) was only accepted by the consultants if the second conjunct was marked by *=mi*. Other examples of the enclitic in corrective focus constructions were given in Section 4.5.1, where I have also shown that corrective foci are the only context in which *=mi* seems to be grammatically obligatory. This seems to confirm that *=mi* is required when the speaker assumes that the addressee is not going to consider the asserted proposition likely to become CG (cf. Zimmermann 2008: 55). Such a conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that *=mi* is required for the felicity of certain illocutionary acts, such as warning or encouragement (see Section 5.3.3.2). The sentences used to perform such acts can also vary in terms of specification. Consider:

(6.5) = (5.34) = (2.80)

|       |              |                      |
|-------|--------------|----------------------|
| Juan, | pantalon-da  | liki-ngui= <b>mi</b> |
| NAME  | trousers-ACC | rip -2 <b>=mi</b>    |

‘Juan, you’ll rip your trousers!’

el\_31052013\_1 388

Example (6.5) could be uttered by a parent who sees his son climbing a tree. It conveys an underspecified, unspecified proposition; the content of the utterance is unrelated to QUD or the current aCG. However, *=mi*-marked utterances can also be fully specified. Consider:

(6.6)

|    |      |         |
|----|------|---------|
| A: | Mana | usha-ni |
|    | NEG  | can-1   |

‘I cannot (do this).’

|    |        |                      |
|----|--------|----------------------|
| B: | [kan]  | usha-ngui= <b>mi</b> |
|    | [ 2SG] | can -2 <b>=mi</b>    |

‘[Yes, you] can!’

attested

In (6.6) above, I was stating that I will not be able to make a traditional drink, and my interlocutor was convincing me that I could perform the task. In the utterance of B the speaker asserts a Plausible & Possible, fully specified event. The focus of the

assertion is on the polarity on the clause, since A has previously asserted not being able to perform the task. However, if A expected that she will be able to perform the task in question and B merely wanted to encourage her further, (6.7), and not utterance B from (6.6), would be felicitous:

(6.7)

Usha-ngui=**rá** !

can-2=**tá**

‘You can [do this]!’

elicited

Hence, the only difference between (6.6B) and (6.7) is how the speaker perceives the expectations of the hearer. The examples above show that =*mi* is obligatory in utterances which are by default unexpected to the hearer (underspecified, unspecified). In utterances of all the other types listed in Figure 6.1, =*mi* can be used if the speaker assumes that, despite the event being expected/plausible/possible with respect to QUD and the aCG, the addressee does not judge it plausible. In such cases, the decision to use =*tá*, =*mi*, or to make an unmarked utterance depends on the speaker’s subjective assessment of whether the hearer expects a given assertion. This explains why in (6.2), repeated below, the positive answer is compatible with both =*mi* and =*tá*:

(6.8) = (6.2)

Q: Riku-ngui=*chu*?

see -2 =Q/NEG

‘Do you see [them]?’

a. Ari, riku-ni=**mi** / Ari, riku-ni=**rá**  
 yes see-1 =**mi** / yes see-1=**tá**  
 ‘Yes, I see / Yes, I DO see.’

b. Mana riku-ni=**mi** / \*Mana riku-ni=**rá**  
 NEG see-1 =**mi** / \*NEG see-1=**tá**  
 ‘I don’t see.’ / \*‘I DO NOT see.’

el\_28112014\_05

In (6.8), one interlocutor is asking the other whether he sees the people who are passing by. While the analysis presented above can account for the occurrence both of *=mi* and *=tá* in the positive answer (6.8a), the negative (6.8b) is more problematic. I have mentioned previously that *=tá* does not occur in negative polarity clauses. In case of (6.8), it could be argued that in asking a positive polarity question speaker A is presupposing a positive answer, and therefore the negative answer is incongruent with his expectations. However, this hypothesis cannot be corroborated on the basis of currently available data.

More research is needed into the occurrence of *=mi* and *=tá* in answers to negative polarity questions, as well as into the role of expectation in the occurrences of *=mi* in interrogative clauses (see Section The semantics of *=mi*: claiming epistemic authority). The currently available data do not suffice to account for this aspect of the meaning of the enclitics. Future studies of expectation and related phenomena, both in TK and cross-linguistically, require setting up elicitation tasks which would allow studying elaborate distinctions in the inter-personal aspects of the context (cf. Zimmermann 2008).

The analysis of *=mi* and *=tá* as contrasting with respect to the speaker's evaluation of the hearer's expectation complements other aspects of the markers' semantics. It is compatible with their association with focus, as well as with their interpretation as markers of epistemic authority. The counter-expectation element of the semantics of *=mi* shows that the epistemic primacy it encodes is associated exclusively with the origo. As mentioned in Section 5.3.3, in Cuzco Quechua (QII), *=mi* tends to be used when the speaker anticipates a challenge (Faller 2002). This observation also applies to TK, where *=mi*-marked utterances are considered 'stronger' than the unmarked ones. This aspect of the pragmatics of *=mi* also relates to its counter-expectation meaning. If the speaker assumes the addressee does not expect their assertion, then they are likely to anticipate being challenged (cf. Fetzer & Oishi 2014). The enclitic *=tá*, on the other hand, encodes the origo's epistemic authority over information which the interlocutor was expecting. As such, the epistemic authority it encodes is shared between the discourse participants. The expectation and specification distinctions proposed by Matić (2015) help explain the distribution of the markers by specifying discourse contexts in which both enclitics are felicitous. In the case of *=tá*,

Matić's parameters corroborate the verum focus analysis of the marker. In case of *=mi*, the expectation/specification analysis delimits the discourse contexts in which the marker is obligatory, and those in which it is optional. This is an important step towards providing a more complete account for the distribution of *=mi* in TK discourse.

Considering the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's expectations as relevant to the distribution of TK discourse markers seems to be a promising line of research, and it should be spelled out in more detail in subsequent studies of TK. Further research is needed to verify whether it could also be fruitfully applied to enclitics other than *=mi* and *=tá*.

## **6.2 CG management: epistemic perspective and Information Structure**

The paradigm of TK discourse enclitics was identified in Chapter 3, on the basis of the fact that all its members perform discourse-related functions, and occur in the same morphological slot. The fact that the meaning of the enclitics described in this thesis is related to both Information Structure (see Chapter 4) and epistemic authority (see Chapter 5) might lead to a conclusion that the markers form a 'notionally incoherent morphosyntactic system' (Boye 2012: ch. 2) – a paradigm in which the different markers belong to different semantic categories and/or have unrelated functions. However, the paradigm of TK discourse enclitics can be analysed as notionally coherent if they are analysed as encoding meanings facilitating the management of Common Ground. In this section, I propose that the marking of IS categories and marking of epistemic authority are related aspects of CG management.

Common Ground constantly evolves in the process of communication (see Chapter 4). For communication to be effective, the discourse participants need to keep track of the CG content and to make sure their communicative goals are being met. The primary function of IS is to manage changes in CG, indicating how it should develop (Krifka 2007). In the scholarship on IS, the speaker's assumptions, including those related to identifiability and activation of referents, have a recognised role in contributing to pragmatic structuring of propositions (cf. e.g. Lambrecht 1994).

However, the TK discourse enclitics are not obligatory in every clause in which topical or focal constituents can be identified. Their distribution is also affected by other considerations related to the distribution of knowledge between discourse participants (see Chapter 5), or speaker's assumptions about hearer's expectations (see Section 6.1).

As discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, speakers use *=mi* not only to draw the addressee's attention to the focal constituent in an utterance, but also to assert their epistemic primacy, thereby highlighting information as congruent with their world knowledge. At the same time, the use of *=mi* indicates that the speaker considers the information as unexpected, and therefore potentially hard to assimilate for the addressee (see Section 6.1). Consequently, the procedural meaning of *=mi* is to encourage the addressee to accept the *=mi*-marked information as part of CG, despite the misgivings they might have about it. The enclitic *=tá* achieves a similar effect, although it is used in contexts where the speaker assumes that the addressee knows how the CG should develop. Conversely, *=cha* is not only associated with focal status of constituents, but also indicates that the speaker renounces authority over the information, leaving it to the interlocutor to provide further information that would warrant integrating the *=cha*-marked proposition into the CG. Consider the following exchanges:

(6.9) = (4.72)

Q:     Ayaj=**cha**                 panga ?  
           bitter=**cha**             leaf  
       ‘[Is it a] bitter leaf?’

A:     Ayaj=**tá**  
           bitter=**tá**  
       ‘[It IS] bitter.’

in\_05092014\_01 033-34

(6.10)

Q:     Shindzi             waska=**chá** ?  
           strong            string=**cha**  
       ‘[Is] the string strong?’

A: Shindzi=**mi**  
 strong =**mi**  
 ‘[It is] strong.’

in\_20092013\_01 186-87

The exchange in (6.9) occurs in the context when another interlocutor has previously stated that the leaf is bitter, and therefore the question in this example can be interpreted as a request for confirmation. In (6.10), on the other hand, the question follows up on another one by the same speaker, who doubted that the string will resist fire.

The CG update made by utterances marked with the discourse enclitics exemplified above contains not only the proposition expressed, but also procedural information indicating how well the information is integrated with the worldview of the speaker. Being aware of this aspect of the information is relevant to CG management in that it delimits how communication can develop. If our interlocutor claims epistemic authority over a certain piece of information, challenging that belief would require a different conversational strategy to the one we might adopt if we are granted epistemic authority. Therefore, the use of =*mi* informs the addressee that the speaker considers the current question under discussion to be resolved. The use of =*cha*, on the other hand, indicates to the addressee that their next contribution is needed to resolve the question currently under discussion, and indicates what information it should contain in order to be informative. By the same token, =*mi* and =*tá* indicate the differences in the suppositions of speaker and hearer. This ‘sets the scene for subsequent discourse moves’, making the exchange more fluid (cf. Zimmermann 2008: 354). A similar increase in fluidity is achieved by the use of the markers =*cha*=*chu*, both of which indicate that the question under discussion is not resolved, which also indicates how the speaker wishes for the communication to proceed.

Parallels between IS-marking and epistemic marking were acknowledged in previous literature. Kamio (1997: 3) pointed out a conceptual relation between the ‘Territories of Information’ and IS, stating that they both relate to ‘the character of information expressed in natural language’. In the Quechuan literature, Hintz and Hintz (2014) observed that ‘the inter-subjective nature of certain evidential systems’ (see Section

6.3) invites discussion of how evidentiality relates to CG. The varieties they describe exhibit evidential marking of ‘mutual’ and ‘exclusive’ knowledge, which leads them to consider ‘mutual knowledge’ as a separate grammatical category. A similar conclusion could be reached with respect to the marking of CG management in TK. I discuss this idea in more detail in Section 6.4.

The analysis of the TK enclitics as markers of CG management is also in line with, and more specific than, their interpretation as discourse markers, that is, as markers which enhance discourse coherence (cf. Schiffrin 1987: 49). The TK discourse enclitic allow the interlocutors to ‘jointly integrate forms, meaning and actions to make overall sense out of what is said’ (Degand 2016). Irrespective of whether their meaning is more epistemic, or more IS-related, the TK enclitics enhance the coherence of discourse by ‘preparing the scene for a swifter update of CG’ (Zimmermann 2008: 360).

### **6.3 From evidentials to epistemic primacy markers: a case study of intersubjectification**

Throughout this thesis, I have discussed the TK discourse markers *=mi* and *=cha* in the context of their cognates from other Quechuan varieties. While I analysed the TK *=mi* and *=cha* as markers of epistemic primacy, in most Quechuan languages their cognates are analysed as evidentials. In the previous chapters, I have given examples from naturalistic and elicited TK discourse, in order to show that the analysis of the two markers as encoding epistemic primacy is justified. I have also provided some examples of synchronic variation, showing that the usage of the TK discourse markers differs from the usage of their cognates.

In this section, I show that the semantic differences between the TK discourse markers and their cognates from other varieties can be analysed as an example of diachronic semantic change. Recent research on grammaticalisation and semantic change (cf. e.g. Bybee et al. 1994; Mushin 2001; Traugott & Dasher 2005; Traugott 2010) shows that the shift from evidential to epistemic authority meaning is not only possible, but plausible, since it involves semantic change from subjective to intersubjective meaning.

I defined the notions of subjectivity and intersubjectivity in Chapter 5, but I repeat them here for the sake of clarity. Subjectivity is the marking of the locutionary agent's perspective encoded in linguistic expressions (Lyons 1982: 102), while intersubjectivity is linguistic marking of the 'speaker's acknowledgement of, and attention to the addressee' (Traugott 2010: 2). Those two notions are related to processes of semantic change, namely 'subjectification' and 'intersubjectification'. Subjectification is a process by means of which 'lexical as well as grammatical items tend to go from describing events or states of affairs to expressing the speaker's inner state' (Gipper 2011: 11). Intersubjectification is a process of grammaticalisation which consists of gradual development of a subjective meaning into an intersubjective one, that is, into meaning which is centred on the addressee (cf. e.g. Bybee et al. 1994; Mushin 2001; Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2010), or related to inter-personal distribution of knowledge.

Evidentiality can be analysed as a subjective category, since evaluation of sources of evidence for a given proposition is part of the speaker's own viewpoint with respect to the proposition expressed. Epistemic primacy is more intersubjective, since it is concerned with the origo's right to know relative to that of the interlocutor. Consequently, diachronic semantic change from marking evidentiality to marking epistemic authority could be analysed as a case of intersubjectification.

Both subjectification and intersubjectification involve semantic reanalysis of the markers or constructions, as they come to encode increasingly (inter)subjective meanings. In the process, meanings which at earlier stages of grammaticalisation were only pragmatically inferable in certain contexts, become encoded as part of the semantics of the marker (Traugott 2010). This is precisely the case of the Quechuan enclitic *=mi*. In varieties in which it is an evidential marker, in certain contexts, such as conveying well-assimilated general knowledge, the use of *=mi* implies that the speaker has authority over the information. In TK, epistemic authority has become the meaning encoded by the marker. The varieties in which the *=mi* has been analysed as evidential include Huánuco (Weber 1989) and Wanka (Floyd 1997), both spoken in Peru and belonging to the QI dialectal group, which is considered the 'most conservative' and closest to proto-Quechua (see Section 1.1). The evidential *=mi* is also attested in Cuzco Quechua (Faller 2002), also spoken in Peru, and



belonging to the more conservative QII subgroup, QIIC. TK, on the other hand, belongs to the QIIB subgroup, which is considered to have changed the most with respect to proto-Quechua. This suggests that in diachronic development of Quechuan languages, the evidential meaning of the enclitic in question precedes the epistemic primacy meaning.

As discussed in Section 6.1, the use of TK markers such as *=mi* or *=tá* requires the speaker to take the addressee's perspective on the information conveyed into account, independently of the discourse context in which they occur. This shows that these discourse enclitics can be analysed as encoding truly intersubjective meanings. However, the currently available data suggests that intersubjective meaning remains a pragmatic inference in the case of the marker *=cha*. Compare examples (6.11) and (6.12) below:

(6.11) = (5.20) = (3.68)

ima shuti-ra=**cha** Shangri=**cha** ni-j-kuna a-ka=y  
 what name-ACC=**cha** NAME=**cha** say-AG.NMZL-PL AUX-PST=EMPH.INT  
 'What was his name, I think they called him Shangri...'

in\_26052013\_02 132

(6.12) = (5.63)

A: Alli=**cha** kasna-y=ga ? o... yapa ashka=chu?  
 good=**cha** like.this-LOC=ga or very much=Q/NEG  
 'Would it be good like this? Or is it too much?'

B: Alli=mi (...)  
 good=mi  
 '[That's] good.'

in\_20092013 012-13

In (6.11), an older speaker is recalling the name of a person she used to know when she was young. The excerpt comes from a conversation of the speaker with a much younger interviewer, who did not know the person in question. Therefore, in this context *=cha* signals the speaker's lack of epistemic authority, but carries no assumptions as to the state of knowledge of the interlocutor. In (6.12), the speaker

uses *=cha* in an interrogative clause, asking the more experienced addressee how much filling to put in a traditional dish. In this context, the addressee has more epistemic authority than the speaker. The contrast between the two examples suggests that the meaning incorporating the perspective of the addressee arises as a pragmatic inference. However, example (6.11) is exceptional with regard to other instances of *=cha* attested in the corpus. All the other examples of the marker cited in this thesis were uttered in context in which the marker could be interpreted as indicating both the lack of the epistemic primacy on the part of the speaker, and its attribution to the addressee. Moreover, in case of lack of further context, *=cha*-marked utterances are interpreted as interrogatives, or requests for confirmation. This suggests that despite the example in (6.11) the marker could be analysed as intersubjective.

The fact that the TK paradigm of discourse enclitics contains markers that vary with respect to the degree of (inter)subjectivity they encode is in line with patterns attested cross-linguistically in similar systems. Bergqvist (2015) mentions an increasing number of reports of epistemic marking systems which ‘operate side by side with, or instead of, evidentials, but which have both speech participants’ epistemic perspectives as a primary focus’. Although the systems he described come from language families other than Quechuan, it has been discussed previously that in certain Quechuan dialects the evidential paradigms include the perspectives of both the speaker and the addressee (Howard 2012; Hintz & Hintz 2014). While these systems are labelled as ‘evidential’ by the authors of their descriptions, they are clearly intersubjective in nature, and concerned not only with the source of evidence, but also with the distribution of information between the participants of the speech situation. As mentioned previously, Hintz and Hintz (2014) discuss the ‘evidential’ systems of South Conchucos and Sihuas Quechua varieties, which include markers not only indicating the speaker’s source of information, but also signalling whether or not the information is shared between the discourse participants.

Comparing the different systems attested in Quechuan languages, Hintz and Hintz (2014: 18-19) postulate that the different Quechuan evidential systems gradually develop more and more intersubjective meanings, and that the process of their intersubjectification can be divided into three stages. At the first stage, the evidential

systems allow for three choices: ‘assertion’, ‘conjecture’ and ‘reported’, all of which encode origo-centred, subjective meanings. This system is attested in many Quechuan varieties, including Cuzco Quechua (e.g. Faller 2002). The second stage consists of an intersubjective development. Additional markers are introduced, indicating whether ‘assertion’ and ‘conjecture’ are individual (centred on the origo) or mutual (arrived at jointly by both interlocutors). The semantics of the reportative marker remain unaffected. Such a five-value system is attested in South Conchuchos Quechua. In the third stage of intersubjectification, the reportative splits into ‘nonpersonal’ and ‘generalised’, resulting in a six-choice system. The ‘nonpersonal’ reportative marks reported information the speaker obtained from someone else, much like the ‘traditional’ Quechuan reportative evidential. The ‘generalised’ reportative is used where the information is held in common by the members of the speech community (cf. Hintz & Hintz 2014). The six-choice evidential system is attested in Sihuas Quechua.

Hintz and Hintz (2014: 19) further claim that intersubjective evidential systems can ‘be susceptible to simplification over time’. They postulate a possible stage four in the development of Quechuan evidential systems, in which ‘certain markers fall into disuse’, but point out that particular forms might still be used with a meaning traceable to prior stages of their development. They suggest this is the case for the Cuzco Quechua marker *=ma*, which Faller glosses as ‘surprise’ (e.g. 2002) and Cusihuamán (1976/2001) as ‘impressive’ or ‘emphatic’ (2014: 19-20).

The grammaticalisation process postulated above suggests that in Quechuan languages with more developed intersubjective systems, ‘mutual knowledge’ can be considered a grammatical category (Hintz & Hintz 2014: 1). The authors understand ‘mutual knowledge’ as being gradually co-constructed by the discourse participants in the process of communication, in line with what I have been referring to as ‘common ground’ over the course of this dissertation. Hintz and Hintz (2014: 5) analyse the Quechuan evidentials as ‘interactional devices for the packaging and negotiation of information in discourse’. This conclusion is similar to the one I have reached in the discussion of the function of TK discourse enclitic in Section 6.1.

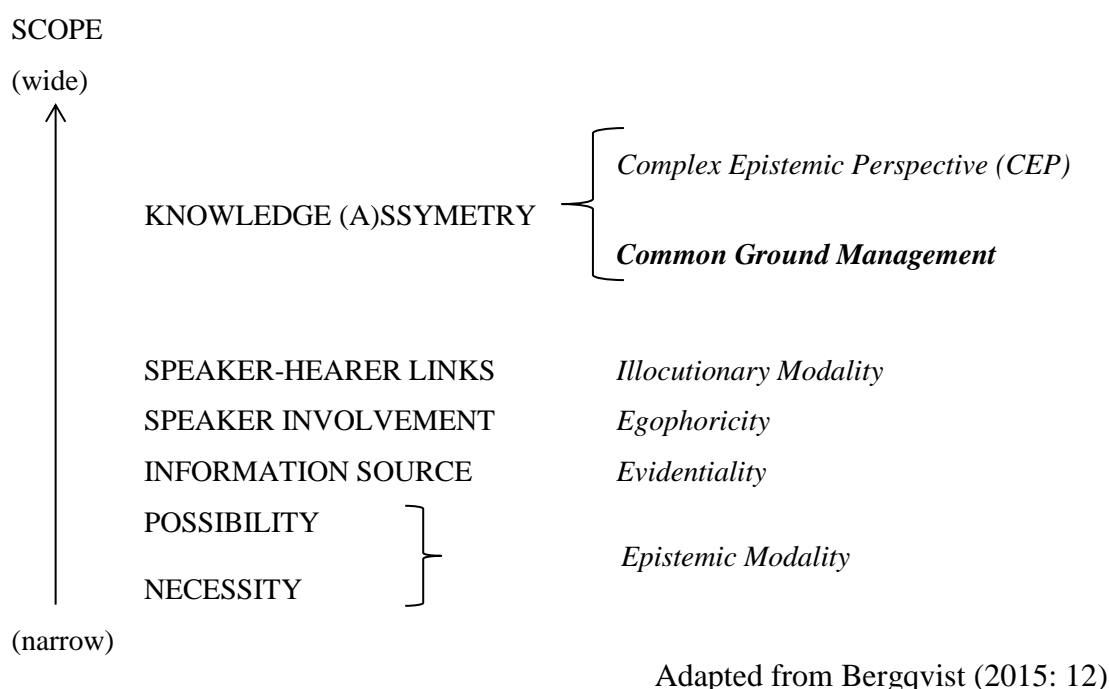
Despite leading to similar insights about the function of evidential markers, the grammaticalisation process described above and the one I postulate for TK vary

substantially. The analysis of the TK discourse markers *=mi* and *=cha* as encoding the distribution of epistemic primacy rather than the source of evidence fits with the direction of semantic change postulated for other Quechuan varieties. However, the shape of the TK paradigm of discourse enclitics differs from what Hintz and Hintz (2014) would predict. The first major difference is the absence of the reportative marker. As mentioned previously, TK is not the only Quechuan variety without a dedicated marker of reported information – Imbabura Quechua is also attested to use periphrastic marking of reportative, rather than a dedicated marker (Cole 1982). Secondly, while the process postulated by Hintz and Hintz (2014) involves development of more fine-grained, intersubjective evidential meanings of the three ‘original’ markers, the TK markers have undergone a semantic shift towards a different epistemic meaning altogether. Moreover, before conclusions can be reached about how the TK paradigm has developed, a more fine-grained analysis of the markers *=ma*, *=mari* and *=chari* needs to be carried out.

#### **6.4 Typological implications: CG management and the epistemic perspective domain**

In Section Chapter 6, I suggested that the TK discourse markers form a paradigm dedicated to the management of Common Ground. Given that certain markers within the paradigm encode epistemic meanings, a question arises of whether and how the paradigm of ‘CG management’ fits into the epistemic perspective domain discussed in Section 5.1.2. The functional domain of epistemic perspective encompasses grammatical categories which express meanings related to the relationship between the origo and the information, and the distribution of information between the participants of discourse (Bergqvist 2015). The original structure of the domain as proposed by Bergqvist was shown in Figure 5.2 in Section 5.1.2. In proposing the structure of the epistemic perspective domain, Bergqvist (2015) ordered the categories within it with respect to the amount of intersubjectivity they encode. He also ordered the different categories with respect to their scopal properties based on Cinque’s (1999) hierarchy of functional projections. In Figure 6.2, I attempt to incorporate the category of CG management into the epistemic perspective domain. The changes to the original diagram are indicated in bold.

**Figure 6.2 Epistemic perspective domain including CG management**



The tentative placement of CG management shown in Figure 6.2 is not without its problems. Based on the semantics of the markers, it seems accurate that CG management should be situated towards the top of the scale. In the previous chapters and in Section 6.1, I have shown that the TK CG-managing enclitics indicate knowledge (a)symmetry between discourse participants. The placement of CG management in Figure 6.2 follows these semantic considerations.

This, however, led to placing a category associated with certain information-structural categories higher above illocutionary modality on the ‘scope’ scale, contrary to the view accepted in generative syntax that illocutionary force scopes over information structure (e.g. Rizzi 1982). At present, I cannot account for this apparent contradiction.

Bergqvist (2015) based the bottom-to-top ordering of the different sub-domains of epistemic perspective on the assumption that more intersubjective meanings correspond to a wider scope of linguistic expression of these meanings. This has been confirmed in the literature on grammaticalisation (Traugott 1995; 2003; 2010; 2012; Traugott & Dasher 2002), including grammaticalisation of discourse markers (Traugott 1995) and deictic elements, such as demonstratives (e.g. Kratochvíl 2011). Traugott (e.g. 2010) observes that subjectified elements tend to appear at the

periphery of the constituent or clause. This observation applies both to TK ‘CG management’ markers, and to evidentials in other Quechuan varieties (e.g. Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2015, see Sections 4.3 and 4.2, respectively).

Traugott (2010) claims that increasingly peripheral position of a linguistic element in the phrase or clause is a structural correlate of increasing grammaticalisation and intersubjectification. However, this rule does not apply to the intersubjectification of Quechuan evidentials into CG management markers, postulated in Section 6.3. In the varieties in which they can be analysed as evidentials, as well as in TK, where they mark distribution of epistemic authority, the markers occur at the periphery of the phrase, and show distributional similarities (see Chapter 4). Whether or not their move to a more peripheral position does correlate with increased (inter)subjectification of Quechuan discourse markers could perhaps be established if the investigation encompassed a greater time-depth. To my knowledge, no such study has been conducted to date, and it is questionable whether in-depth historical analysis of the syntactic position of Quechuan discourse markers could be conducted on the basis of the available data.

As mentioned previously, Figure 6.2 predicts that the markers with the more-intesubjective meaning should also have wider scope than the less (inter)subjective ones. According to Bergqvist (2015: 13 and references therein), markers of epistemic modality and evidentiality have a ‘relatively narrow’ scope, and ‘sometimes scope under negation’. He further claims that egophoric marking systems have not been attested to scope under negation, and that modal particles and Complex Epistemic Perspective (CEP) markers have scope over all the other categories. In Figure 6.2, I postulate placing CG management between illocutionary modality and CEP marking. It follows that the markers of CG management should also scope over all the other categories. As shown in Section 5.3.3 with the example of *=mi*, this is not always the case. The marker does scope over negation and can be analysed as non-truth conditional, but it can embed under verbs of speech and thinking, and under the epistemic modal *yachin*. The Cuzco Quechua evidentials, on the other hand, can only be embedded under verbs of speech (Faller 2014). As mentioned in Section 6.3, in case of the the TK *=cha* it is not yet clear whether it can be analysed as unquestionably intersubjective. If its meaning is in fact subjective, according to

Figure 6.2 the marker should be associated with a relatively narrow scope. Nonetheless, the TK *=cha* has not been attested in embedded contexts. These discrepancies between the (inter)subjective meaning and embedding properties of *=mi* and *=cha* seems to contradict the aforementioned correlation of wide scope with intersubjective meanings.

The positioning of the tentative category of ‘CG management’ also requires further research into how it interacts with other categories shown in Figure 6.2. This related to another feature of the ‘epistemic perspective domain’ which needs to be spelled out, namely how its different sub-domains relate to one another. Bergqvist (2015) postulates that illocutionary/speaker-oriented modality (Bybee 1985), representing speech acts through which the speaker aims to influence the actions of the addressee, belongs to the domain of speaker-hearer links. At this stage, it is not clear how the two semantic domains: ‘speaker-hearer links’ and ‘(a)symmetry of knowledge’ relate to one another cross-linguistically or in TK. The TK discourse enclitics, with the exception of *=chu*, are ungrammatical in imperative contexts, which are a prime example of speaker-oriented modality. However, as discussed in Section 5.3.3.2, the enclitic *=mi* is compatible with mild hortative speech acts such as giving advice.

It is also unclear how the CG management markers relate to the marking of ‘Complex Epistemic Perspective’ (CEP). Bergqvist characterises CEP as a subtype of multiple perspective (cf. Evans 2005), in which ‘one perspective [is] embedded in another’ (Bergqvist 2015: 6). As discussed in Section 5.3.3.4, *=mi* – and possibly *=ma* – can be embedded under verbs of speech and thinking. Such constructions are used to convey reports of other speakers’ utterances, but are also used in self-corrections:

(6.13) = (5.50)

|           |              |         |          |
|-----------|--------------|---------|----------|
| Muyu-ra   | piti-w-n.... | ima.... | Coco.... |
| fruit-ACC | cut-PROG-3   | what    | coconut  |

|       |                    |         |     |           |                      |
|-------|--------------------|---------|-----|-----------|----------------------|
| Mana, | [coco= <b>mi</b>   | (a-n)   | ]CP | ni- ni... | coco= <b>chá</b> ... |
| NEG   | coconut= <b>mi</b> | (COP-3) |     | say -1    | coconut= <b>cha</b>  |

‘He is cutting [harvesting] fruit....what...[It’s a] coconut...no, I said coconut, [is it a] coconut?’

eI\_24092014\_03 003-5

In (6.13), the speaker's previous view on the type of fruit harvested in the Pear Story video is embedded in the utterance conveying her current opinion. As such, the example could be analysed as an instance of CEP.

The TK discourse enclitics pattern similarly to CEP markers described by Bergqvist (2015: 13) in that they are restricted to certain sentence-types, but seem to be compatible with a wide range of illocutionary forces. The same, however, could be said about Quechuan evidentials in the varieties with the three-way evidential distinction (e.g. Floyd 1997; Faller 2002). These ambiguities suggest that the scope properties of the different types of epistemic perspective expressions should be evaluated more rigorously in future research, both cross-linguistically and within individual languages. However, a detailed description of the scope of expressions encoding epistemic, intersubjective meaning requires reviewing the tests standardly used to determine scope properties of linguistic markers. Tests evaluating their truth-or-falsity and challengeability often deliver questionable results, since intersubjective meanings are more readily described in terms of felicity or congruence with a given context, than in terms of grammaticality. Furthermore, recent research has also shown embeddability of a linguistic item is not a sufficient proof that its meaning can be analysed as truth-conditional (e.g. Krifka 2014; Woods 2016).

The discourse-semantic considerations presented above need to be investigated in more detail before definite conclusions can be reached about where 'CG management' fits into the epistemic perspective domain. The relationships between the different sub-domains of epistemic perspective are also likely to be revised if marking of emerging epistemic categories such as stance (cf. e.g. Du Bois 2007) or engagement (cf. e.g. Evans 2016; Bergqvist 2016) is considered in the cross-linguistic description of epistemic perspective.

In sum, the TK markers of CG management functionally and semantically fit within the functional domain of epistemic perspective postulated by Bergqvist (2015). The data from TK also show that the domain is far from complete in the shape in which it was proposed originally. Nonetheless, determining the place of CG management marking within the domain, as well as its relationship with other categories, is problematic. Many of the categories belonging to the domain are difficult to define, and not enough descriptive data for languages in which these systems are attested is



available at the moment. Consequently, reaching cross-linguistically valid conclusions about the semantic and syntactic properties of the domain of epistemic perspective requires further research into lesser-known languages, with a particular emphasis on their epistemic marking systems.

## **6.5 Summary: TK discourse enclitics and CG management**

In this chapter, I have discussed those aspects of the meaning of TK discourse enclitics which escape the classification of being associated with either Information Structure or epistemic meanings. I have shown, on the example of the enclitics *=mi* and *=tá*, that at least these two enclitics encode the speaker's assumptions about the hearer's expectations. I have also suggested that the paradigm of TK discourse enclitics is a notionally coherent system, the main function of which can be characterised in terms of 'management of Common Ground'.

Subsequently, I suggested that the meaning encoded by the TK *=mi* - and possibly *=cha* - could be plausibly analysed as a result of semantic change from subjective evidential meaning towards intersubjective meaning associated with epistemic authority. Finally, I put forward a tentative proposal of how the meanings encoded by the paradigm of TK discourse enclitics could be incorporated into the 'domain of epistemic perspective'.

The general objective of this chapter was to show that the different aspects of the meaning of TK discourse markers explored in the preceding chapters should be brought together in the analysis. Only when considering them jointly are we able to appreciate the complexity of the communicative functions fulfilled by the TK discourse enclitics described and analysed in this thesis.

## **Chapter 7      Summary and conclusions**

In this thesis, I present a new analysis of Quechuan ‘evidential’ markers, showing that in Tena Kichwa, they mark not the source of evidence, but the origo’s epistemic primacy. I also situate the ‘evidential’ enclitics within the paradigm of TK discourse markers. This is a novel approach, since in previous studies the enclitics have been discussed in isolation (e.g. Weber 1989; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002), or in relation to the ‘topic’ marker *=ga* (e.g. Sánchez 2010). Discussing the ‘evidential’ enclitics in the context of the other markers belonging to the same morphosyntactic system provides a clearer picture of their function in discourse. Showing how the TK discourse markers function in natural language was the priority of this study. Consequently, I have combined corpus-based research with experimental methodology, using tasks where it was possible to control for what information was shared between discourse participants. This approach has allowed to investigate the use of the markers in natural discourse, as well as to gain insight into psychological states of the speakers when they used the markers. Both these aspects have proven crucial for analysing the meaning and distribution of the TK ‘evidentials’.

In this chapter, I make some closing remarks with respect to the research presented in the preceding chapters. First, I provide a brief summary of the main points of each of the chapters (7.1). Secondly, I present some conclusions (7.2) and sketch the contribution made by this work (7.3). Lastly, I point to issues related to the subject matter of this thesis, which in my opinion would benefit from further research (7.4).

### **7.1 Summary of the previous chapters**

Chapter 1 was dedicated to setting the stage for the following parts of the thesis. Firstly, I have discussed the Quechuan language family and its internal subdivision, pointing out the typologically interesting features of Tena Kichwa. Secondly, I have introduced the TK-speaking community of Napo, Ecuador. I have briefly introduced the Napo Runa culture, and have provided the most important sociolinguistic information regarding the current status and state of the language. Subsequently, I have introduced the rationale behind this research, and presented my research

questions. Following on from that, I have described the process of data collection and outlined the structure and the content of the TK corpus.

Chapter 2 was a sketch grammar of TK, covering the basics of its grammar, so as to acquaint readers with the structure of the language. I discussed the phonemic inventory and basic suprasegmental phonology, provided an inventory of TK word classes, as well as nominal and verbal derivation and inflection patterns. Following on from that, I provided some insight into basic clausal syntax, including word order and description of basic characteristics of subjects and objects. I have finished the chapter with a description of coordination and subordination constructions in TK.

In Chapter 3, I focused on the class of TK enclitics. First, I defined notions pertinent to the subsequent analysis: those of discourse markers and clitics. Subsequently, I have proposed language-internal criteria for distinguishing affixes from clitics in TK. Following on from that, I described the morphosyntax of all the enclitics attested in the TK corpus, and proposed that, on the basis of their distribution in discourse, only nine out of fifteen enclitics should be included in the paradigm of TK discourse enclitics. I have also shown that these nine enclitics can be analysed as discourse markers.

In Chapter 4, I introduced notions relevant to the study of Information Structure, and described the IS-function of all the enclitics forming the ‘discourse enclitic’ paradigm identified in the previous chapter. The results of this analysis have shown that the TK enclitic =*ga*, rather than being a marker of topicality, should be analysed as a marker of presupposed information. The other enclitics forming the paradigm all co-occurred with different types of focus constructions. It was also shown that while the enclitics coincide with IS categories, they generally are not obligatory for the grammaticality of given topic-focus articulations, which raised further questions as to what other factors condition their occurrence.

Chapter 5 explored this issue with respect to the subset of enclitics which occur in focus constructions. I discussed the notion of evidentiality, and defined the context of related categories of epistemic meaning. I also introduced the notion of ‘epistemic primacy’, a dimension of knowledge associated with the origo’s relative right to have certain information. The main part of the chapter was devoted to the semantic

analysis of the enclitics *=mi* and *=cha*, which are analysed as evidential markers in other Quechuan varieties. I have shown that in TK, rather than encoding evidential values, they encode the origo's epistemic primacy or lack thereof, respectively. I have also briefly explored the possible epistemic meanings of other TK enclitics. Epistemic considerations allow predicting in which discourse contexts one of the 'focus-marking' enclitics will be chosen over the other. However, they fail to account for the non-occurrence of the clitics.

Subsequently, in Chapter 6, I explored additional factors which might influence the (non-)occurrence of TK enclitics in discourse. Drawing on the examples of the epistemic authority enclitic *=mi* associated with (contrastive) focus, and the verum focus enclitic *=tá*, I suggested that the factors which influence their distribution are the type of specification provided by the utterance, and the speaker's evaluation of how the hearer expects the discourse to develop. I have shown that if these are taken into account, it is possible to predict in which contexts both enclitics will or will not occur. I have also shown that the analysis of *=mi* and *=cha* as epistemic markers can be reconciled with their analysis as evidential markers in 'more conservative' Quechuan varieties, since the semantic change from evidential to epistemic authority meaning can be analysed as a process of semantic change, namely, intersubjectification. Furthermore, I proposed that the underlying meaning of the TK discourse enclitics, irrespective of whether the meaning is associated more with information structural or epistemic considerations, is the management of Common Ground. Following on from that, I have explored the relation of CG management-marking with respect to other categories of epistemic meaning.

## 7.2 Conclusions

The findings of this thesis can be summarised in the following points:

- i. **TK has a paradigm of discourse enclitics dedicated to Common Ground management**

The said paradigm of discourse enclitics comprises nine members: *=ga*, *=mi*, *=ma*, *=mari*, *=chu*, *=cha*, *=chari*, *=tá* and *=ta*. They can be classified as discourse enclitics because of promiscuous attachment and their discourse-related meanings.

Unlike ‘prototypical’ enclitics, they optionally affect the lexical stress-assignment of their hosts, with the exception of =*tá*, which comes with inherent stress. All the aforementioned enclitics occupy the same morphosyntactic slot, and their occurrence is restricted to phrasal heads. Despite the semantic differences between the markers, the paradigm can be analysed as notionally coherent, since the functions of all of its members are related to Common Ground management.

However, it should be pointed out that while the overarching function of CG management functions as a source of semantic coherence of the markers, their association with the different categories of IS calls this uniformity into question. Consequently, Table 7.1 presents the paradigm, while taking the differences in the IS-association into account.

**Table 7.1 The paradigm of TK CG management clitics**

| Discourse function   | IS association | Marker      |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|
| <b>CG management</b> | <b>Topic</b>   | =ga         |
|                      | <b>Focus</b>   | =mi         |
|                      |                | =ma         |
|                      |                | =mari       |
|                      |                | =cha        |
|                      |                | =chu        |
|                      |                | = <i>tá</i> |
|                      |                | =ta         |
|                      |                | =chari      |

Table 7.1 shows that there is clear discrepancy between the set of eight clitics associated with focus, and the enclitic =*ga*, associated with topicality/presupposed information. This suggests that increased notional coherence of the paradigm could be achieved by not considering =*ga* as member of the set.

**ii. The TK ‘epistemic primacy’ enclitics correlate with, but do not mark, information structural categories.**

This observation is important and relevant due to the fact that it contrasts with previous scholarship which, for other Quechuan varieties, analysed the evidential enclitics and *=ga* as markers of focus and topicality, respectively. This view cannot be upheld in TK, due to low frequency of the markers, and their other distributional properties. All the enclitics listed above correlate with IS categories, but they do not mark them.

As mentioned above, the enclitic *=ga* occurs only on constituents encoding presupposed information, including topics and background. It is not grammatically obligatory, but seems to surface in contexts where the speaker wishes to mark the information as both salient and contrastive. All the other enclitics are associated with different types of focus structures, including information, contrastive and verum foci. They too, are not grammatically obligatory.

**iii. CG management involves both epistemic meanings and association with information structure**

The enclitics listed above encode a variety of epistemic meanings. This thesis described, in particular, the meanings of *=mi* and *=cha*, which are cognates of the direct and inferential/conjectural evidentials from other Quechuan varieties. The remaining enclitics were given a preliminary description.

In TK, the enclitics *=mi* and *=tá*, encode the origo’s epistemic primacy, and *=cha* encodes the speaker’s lack of epistemic primacy. The markers *=ta* and *=chu* seem to be epistemically neutral. In some contexts, *=ma* and *=mari* occur in free variation with *=mi*, which suggests that their meanings are related. The same obtains for *=chari* and *=cha*. The epistemic primacy semantics of *=mi* and *=cha* is likely to have developed diachronically, via intersubjectification, from evidential meanings attested in other Quechuan varieties.

**iv. Speaker expectation is relevant to CG-management marking**

While the above statement is far from new, and follows from the definition of CG, few studies demonstrate how the different types of speaker expectations can influence the linguistic form of their utterance. This thesis demonstrates that, showing that the expectations of the addressee with regard to the expectations and

state of knowledge of the addressee influence the speaker's use - and choice - of discourse markers. This is exemplified with the discussion of *=mi* and *=tá*, but could possibly be applied to other markers from the paradigm.

The TK enclitics *=mi* and *=tá* both encode epistemic primacy and participate in focus marking. However, they differ in terms of the speaker's assessment of the hearer's expectation. If the speaker considers that the addressee expects given information, they will use *=tá*. If the information is judged as unexpected to the addressee, the speaker will use *=mi*.

**v.        Situational and interpersonal context is important for the adequate descriptions of evidential/epistemic systems**

A general conclusion that emerges from these findings is that the meanings encoded by evidential and epistemic marking systems are not reducible to just encoding source of evidence or epistemic evaluation of the proposition. The speakers' choice of how to present themselves with respect to the information they convey is a complex and multi-faceted aspect of the act of communication. It can influence the interlocutors' perception of the speaker, and the interlocutor's evaluation of the information conveyed in the speaker's utterance. Consequently, the choice of whether and how to use an evidential/epistemic marker is rarely made solely on the grounds of the speaker's evidence for, or epistemic evaluation of, the proposition expressed. The speakers' concerns related to their positive and negative face, their position as an authority on the subject, and even their social standing, might also be relevant to 'evidential/epistemic practice' (cf. Michael 2008). Therefore, it is to be expected that in making an evidentially or epistemically marked statement, the speaker pays particular attention to the expectations and psychological states of their interlocutors. Consequently, these aspects of the communicative situation need to be taken into account in the analysis of evidential and epistemic systems.

It follows that the discourse enclitics can only be adequately studied on the basis of naturalistic data, possibly coupled with specially designed 'interactive stimuli' (cf. Lüpke 2009). In elicitation of translations and judgements, speakers are unlikely to be as emotionally and mentally invested in their statements as they would be in a real

communicative situation. This is especially true for systems which – like TK epistemic primacy marking – encode intersubjective meanings.

### 7.3 Contribution

This study makes a number of contributions to the linguistic scholarship in general, and to the documentation and research on Quechuan languages in particular. In this section, I discuss the most important of those contributions, showing how they answer the research needs identified in the previous literature.

Firstly, this thesis provides a comprehensive description of a Quechuan variety for which no detailed descriptions existed previously. For Lowland varieties closely related to TK, the only descriptive studies available to date have focused on their phonology (Orr 1975), and some aspects of semantics (Nuckolls 1993; 1996; 2012). For TK, only a phonological description was available (O’Rourke & Swanson 2013). Therefore, the sketch grammar which forms a part of this thesis answers the need of a more thorough description of the language.

By focusing on the class of TK enclitics, this study also adds to our knowledge of the properties of Quechuan enclitics. The meaning and functions of ‘evidential’ enclitics and the ‘topic’ enclitic *=ga* have been described for several Quechua varieties (cf. e.g. Weber 1989; Muysken 1995; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002; 2007; Muntendam 2015; Sánchez 2010). However, as far as I am aware, this study is the first description of Quechuan clitics which provides a detailed discussion of the class of these expressions, rather than focusing on its specific subset. In doing so, this thesis offers a new insight into how the Quechuan ‘evidentials’ relate to other ‘free enclitics’, and shows that the Quechuan evidential/epistemic paradigm might need to be delimited more broadly in future research. This is in line with descriptions of Quechuan varieties in which more than the three ‘standard’ evidential markers (direct/indirect/reportative) were attested (cf. D.J. Hintz 2012; D. Hintz 2012; Hintz & Hintz 2014; Howard 2012).

This is also the first study of Quechuan languages which provides a detailed discussion of both the information structural function of the markers in question, and their evidential/epistemic semantics. Previous studies have focused either on the role



of the enclitics in marking Information Structure (e.g. Muysken 1995; Sánchez 2010; 2015; Muntendam 2015), or on the descriptions of their semantics (e.g. Weber 1989; Nuckolls 1993; Floyd 1997; Faller 2002; Howard 2012).

Studies which conceptualise Information Structure as related to management of Common Ground (e.g. Chafe 1994; Krifka 2007; Féry & Krifka 2008) underline the fact that the psychological state of the speaker, and well as their consideration related to the psychological state of the hearer, play a role in IS marking. The same has been said about evidential and epistemic marking systems, particularly by the authors who approach these phenomena from an interactional perspective (cf. e.g. Michael 2008; Gipper 2011; Nuckolls & Michael 2012 and articles therein ; Bergqvist 2012; 2015). Although parallels between IS marking and epistemic marking systems have been vaguely acknowledged (cf. Faller 2007; Zimmermann 2008), to my knowledge few, if any studies have attempted to elucidate the relationship between them. Consequently, the joint analysis of the IS-marking and epistemic marking functions of the TK discourse enclitics is a step towards filling a gap in our knowledge about how IS-related functions and epistemic/evidential meanings relate to one another.

A detailed description of how the TK enclitics interact with IS categories also shows that on the basis of the TK data, some assumption about their IS function should be revisited. The TK data shows that although the enclitics correlate with IS categories such as topic and focus, they cannot be analysed as topic- or focus markers, since they are not obligatory for most of the topic-focus articulations. This demonstrates even more acutely that the IS-marking and epistemic functions of the Quechuan enclitics should not be analysed in isolation, since such partial view cannot account for the enclitic's distribution in discourse.

This thesis also provides a new insight into the scholarship on evidentiality, both in Quechuan languages and cross-linguistically. On the basis of a corpus of naturalistic discourse data, it describes a system which encodes values related to epistemic primacy, but which seems to be diachronically related to evidential marking. This shows that TK does not exhibit a 'prototypically' Quechuan evidential system distinguishing between direct, indirect and reported evidentiality. It also raises questions as to how such a system could have developed. Cross-linguistically, evidential expression have grammaticalised from a variety of sources, including

‘evidential strategies’ and perfect tenses (cf. e.g. Aikhenvald 2004), as well as epistemic modals (cf. e.g. de Haan 1999). The description of the TK epistemic primacy markers shows a possible diachronic path of development of evidentials into epistemic primacy markers via the process of intersubjectivisation (e.g. Traugott & Dasher 2002; Traugott 2012). A similar path of development, although leading to a different shape of the resulting paradigm, has also been suggested for some varieties of Peruvian Quechua (Hintz & Hintz 2014a).

This study also suggests that epistemic primacy and information structure markers in TK can be treated jointly as CG-managing devices. This opens a question of whether epistemic or evidential systems in other (Quechuan) languages could also be described in these terms. Moreover, this thesis shows that the notion of expectation is potentially relevant not only to marking of information structure, but also to the description of epistemic marking systems (e.g. Bergqvist 2015). The relevance of expectation to Information Structure has not been explored in detail in the current linguistic literature, but the findings from TK show that the expectation values of the the TK epistemic markers are in line with expectation parameters relevant to IS marking in unrelated languages, such as Bura (Chadic, Zimmermann 2008) or Tundra Yukaghir (isolate, N-E Siberia, Matic 2015).

Lastly, this study contributes to the scholarship on discourse markers. The methodology of cross-linguistic work on discourse markers is based on fine-grained monolingual analysis of their semantic, syntactic and pragmatic properties (cf. Visconti 2016). This study provides just that for a lesser-spoken language, for which no descriptions of discourse markers were previously available. It also raises a question of how data from lesser studied varieties can inform the development of cross-linguistically applicable catalogues of discourse relations and models of their annotation.

## **7.4 Avenues for future research**

This thesis touched on many issues which, for reasons of space or availability of data, it could not explore in more detail. The minor issues which require further research

were highlighted over the course of the thesis. Here, I briefly outline these avenues for further research which I consider the most important.

First and foremost, this thesis provides an initial description of the TK (discourse) enclitics, but it does not give an exhaustive account of their semantics and use in discourse. This is true particularly for the enclitics *=ma*, *=chu*, *=chari* and *=mari*. While the morphosyntactic distribution of the markers was described in considerable detail, the description of their epistemic meanings requires further data collection and analysis. Future investigation should focus in particular on whether they too can be described as related to epistemic primacy, and how and whether their use is conditioned by the distribution of knowledge between discourse participants. The latter seems especially relevant in the light of the recent descriptions of the ‘non-standard’ evidential systems in other Quechuan varieties (cf. Hintz & Hintz 2014). The description of TK discourse enclitic would also benefit from more insight into how the clitics relate to other aspects of the TK grammar, e.g. it remains to be explored how discourse enclitics interact with conditional constructions in TK, and how their occurrence relates to constructions used to describe actualised and non-actualised events. Further research is also needed into TK in general and of TK discourse enclitics in particular. The description of the TK information structure would also be more thorough if it included an analysis of prosodic strategies used in the marking of IS categories. An aspect of the meaning of TK enclitics which was not considered in this study, and which would greatly enhance our understanding of the paradigm, is whether and how the use of the enclitics relates to politeness.

Investigating the issues suggested would benefit from collecting new types of data. The current corpus contains a variety of genres, and constitutes a relatively accurate snapshot of the TK community life. However, it lacks data which would allow insight into language acquisition, and acquisition of epistemic enclitics in particular. Children’s speech, interactions of parents and children, or interactions of teachers and students are possible sources of such data. Collecting these types of data is an especially pressing task, given that intergenerational transmission of TK is likely to break down in the near future. Moreover, as the language becomes less and less used in the communities, the speakers’ pragmatic competence is likely to diminish (cf. Weber 1989: 402-3).

More diverse data is also needed to investigate the TK enclitics which were not described in great detail in this study, including *=ma*, *=mari* and *=chari*. This task requires developing new ways to collect data on discourse/epistemic markers (see Chapter 5). In particular, new elicitation methods need to be devised, allowing the researchers to track intersubjective aspects of the speech situation, including the distribution of knowledge, but also other aspects related to social cognition (cf. San Roque et al. 2012: 2). Developing such tools should be one of the priorities of future research into the discourse markers in TK, and cross-linguistically. Another avenue which could be pursued is developing a protocol for annotation of knowledge states of the participants of discourse, which would allow for more sophisticated knowledge tracking. Multi-level annotation of discourse (cf. Gast 2016) could potentially give researchers more insight into the semantic distinctions encoded by epistemic markers. This would be of particular importance to research on these domains of epistemic meanings which were only recently granted more attention, including multiple perspective (e.g. Evans 2005; Zariquiey 2015), stance (e.g. Mushin 2001; Du Bois 2007), or engagement (e.g. Bergqvist 2016; Evans 2016).

Collecting the different types of data mentioned above should also be coupled with different approaches to data analysis. Studying language as a communicative sequence, and incorporating methods from discourse analysis, could be beneficial for our understanding of discourse markers. Quantitative analysis could help complete the picture, allowing an insight into dependencies which might remain invisible from the point of view of qualitative research.

## Bibliography

- Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1977. *Tarma Quechua: grammar, texts, dictionary*. Lisse: The Peter de Ridder Press.
- Adelaar, Willem F. H. 1997. Los marcadores de validación y evidencialidad en quechua : ¿automatismo o elemento expresivo ? *Amerindia* 22. 3–13.
- Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2013. A Quechuan mirative? In Alexandra Aikhenvald & Anne Storch (eds.), *Perception and Cognition in Language and Culture*, 95–110. Leiden: Brill.
- Adelaar, Willem F. H. & Pieter C. Muysken. 2004. *The Languages of the Andes*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2004. *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Typological distinctions in word-formation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume III: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 1–65. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2015. *The Art of Grammar: A Practical Guide*. Oxford: OUP.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. & R.M.W. Dixon. 1998. Evidentials and areal typology: a case study from Amazonia. *Language Sciences* 20(3). 241–257.
- Aksu-Koç, Ayhan & Dan I. Slobin. 1986. A Psychological Account of the Development and Use of Evidentials in Turkish. In Wallace Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, 159–67. Norwood NJ: Ablex.
- Alvarado Narváez, Carlos Pascual. 2010. *Historia de una Cultura...a la que se quiere matar*. 2nd ed. Quito, Ecuador: Nuestra Amazonía.
- ANCE, Asamblea Nacional Constituyente de Ecuador. 2008. Constitución de la República del Ecuador. <http://02a045b.netsolhost.com/legislacion/normativa/leyes/constitucion2008.pdf> (accessed on 29 January, 2013).
- Anderson, Stephen. 2005. *Aspects of the Theory of Clitics*. Oxford: OUP.
- Aschmann, Richard P. 2007. Quichua.net. <http://quichua.net/Q/Ec/espanol.html> (accessed 10 September, 2012).
- Asher, Nicholas. 1993. *Reference to Abstract Objects in Discourse*. Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Austin, John L. 1962. *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Averintseva-Klisch, Maria. 2008. German Right Dislocation and Afterthought in Discourse. In Anton Benz & Peter Kühnlein (eds.), *Constraints in discourse*, 225–248. (Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 172). Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. Forthcoming. Illocutionary modification: the epistemology of perspective-taking. Leiden, Netherlands.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2012. Complex epistemic perspective in Kogi (Arawako-Chibchan). *International Journal of American Linguistics*.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2015. The role of “perspective” in epistemic marking. *Lingua*. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2015.02.008.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2016a. Evidentiality as stance: Event types and Speaker roles. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bergqvist, Henrik. 2016b. Engagement as a grammatical category: some preliminary remarks. Stockholm University.

- Biber, Douglas & Edward Finegan. 1989. Styles of stance in English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality and affect. *Text - Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse* 9(1). 93–124.
- Blain, Eleanor M. & Rose-Marie Déchaine. 2007. Evidential Types: Evidence from Cree Dialects. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 73(3). 257–291.
- Blakemore, Diane. 2002. *Relevance and Linguistic Meaning: The Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Booij, Geert. 1996. Inherent versus contextual inflection and the split morphology hypothesis. In Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1995*, 1–16. (Yearbook of Morphology). Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. [http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-017-3716-6\\_1](http://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-94-017-3716-6_1) (2 June, 2016).
- Boye, Kasper. 2012. *Epistemic Meaning, A Crosslinguistic and Functional-Cognitive Study*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Briz, Antonio, Salvador Pons Bordería & José Portolés. 2008. Diccionario de partículas discursivas del español. [www.dpde.es](http://www.dpde.es) (accessed 22 January, 2016).
- Bruil, Martine. 2014a. Clause-typing and Evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona. Leiden: Leiden University.
- Bruil, Martine. 2014b. Clause-typing and evidentiality in Ecuadorian Siona. Utrecht, Netherlands: LOT.
- Bühler, Karl. 1990. *Theory of Language: The Representational Function of Language*. . Vol. 25. (Foundations of Semiotics). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Butt, Miriam & Tracy Holloway King. 2000. Null elements in discourse structure. In K.V. Subbarao (ed.), *Papers from the NULLS Seminar*. Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass. <http://web.stanford.edu/group/cslipublications/cslipublications/LFG/1/lfg96butt.pdf> (accessed 15 May 2015).
- Bybee, Joan L. 1985. *Morphology: A Study of the Relation Between Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L. 1994. Asymmetries in tense and aspect systems. In William Pagliuca (ed.), *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, vol. 109, 235–254. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bybee, Joan L., Revere D. Perkins & William Pagliuca. 1994. *The evolution of grammar: tense, aspect, and modality in the languages of the world*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Calvo Pérez, Julio. 1993. *Pragmática y gramática del Quechua cuzqueño*. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Cameron, Deborah. 2001. *Working with Spoken Discourse*. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. London; Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 1976. *Gramática quechua, Junín-huanca*. Lima: Ministerio de Educación, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos.
- Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo. 1987. *Lingüística quechua*. (Biblioteca de La Tradición Oral Andina 8). Cusco: Centro de Estudios Rurales Andinos Bartolomé de las Casas.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. In Charles N. Li (ed.). *Subject and Topic*. 25–55. New York: Academic Press
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1986. Evidentiality in English Conversation and Academic Writing. *Evidentiality: The Linguistic Coding of Epistemology*, 261–72. Norwood NJ: Ablex.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.

- Chafe, Wallace L. 1980. *The Pear Stories: Cognitive, Cultural and Linguistic Aspects of Narrative Production*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1987. Cognitive constraints on information flow. In Russell S. Tomlin (ed.), *Coherence and Grounding in Discourse: Outcome of a Symposium, Eugene, Oregon, June 1984*, vol. 11, 21–52. (Typological Studies in Language). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Chafe, Wallace L. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time: The Flow and Displacement of Conscious Experience in Speaking and Writing*. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press.
- Chafe, Wallace L. & Nichols. 1986. Introduction. In Wallace L. Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Chafe, Wallace L. & Johanna Nichols. 1986. *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Chappell, Hilary. 2008. Variation in the grammaticalization of complementizers from verba dicendi in Sinitic languages. *Linguistic Typology* 12(1). 45–98.
- Chierchia, Gennaro & Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1990. *Meaning and Grammar - 2nd Edition: An Introduction to Semantics*. Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press.
- Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads : A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: OUP.
- Cohan, Jocelyn. 2001. Consider the Alternatives: Focus in Contrast and Context. In Varol Akman, Paolo Bouquet, Richmond Thomason & Roger Young (eds.), *Modeling and Using Context*, 102–115. (Lecture Notes in Computer Science 2116). Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer.
- Cohn, Neil. 2015. The non-universality of cartoony images and comics. *The Visual Linguist*. <http://www.thevisuallinguist.com/2015/06/the-non-universality-of-cartoony-images.html> (accessed 7 December, 2015).
- Cole, Peter. 1982. *Imbabura Quechua: A Descriptive Grammar*. (Ed.) Bernard Comrie, Norval Smith & Anna de Haas. Vol. 5. (Lingua Descriptive Studies). Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company.
- Comrie, Bernard. 1976. *Aspect: an introduction to the study of verbal aspect and related problems*. (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics 2). Cambridge: CUP.
- Comrie, Bernard & Sandra A. Thompson. 2007. Lexical Nominalization. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume III: Grammatical categories and the lexicon*, 334–381. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Coniglio, Marco & Iulia Zegrean. 2012. Splitting up force: Evidence from discourse particles. In Lobke Aelbrecht, Liliane Haegeman & Rachel Nye (Eds.), *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, vol. 190, 229–256. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Creissels, Denis. 2008. Remarks on so-called “conjunct/disjunct” systems. Berlin. <http://www.deniscreissels.fr/public/Creissels-conj.disj.pdf> (accessed 24 April, 2016).
- Creswell, Cassandre, Re Creswell, Katherine Forbes, Eleni Miltsakaki, Rashmi Prasad, Aravind Joshi & Bonnie Webber. 2005. The Predicate-Argument Structure of Discourse Connectives: A Corpus-based Study. In António Branco, Tony McEnery & Ruslan Mitkov (eds.), *Anaphora Processing: Linguistic, Cognitive and Computational Modelling*, 303–328. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Croft, William. 1991. *Syntactic Categories and Grammatical Relations*. University Of Chicago Press.

- Cusihuamán, Antonio G. 1976. *Gramatica quechua: Cuzco-Collao*. 2nd ed. Cusco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos Bartolomé de Las Casas.
- Dalrymple, Mary & Irina Nikolaeva. 2011. *Objects and Information Structure*. Cambridge: CUP.
- De Haan, Ferdinand. 1998. The category of evidentiality. *Unpublished ms.*, University of New Mexico.
- de Haan, Ferdinand. 2005. Encoding speaker perspective: Evidentials. In Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Adam Hodges & David S. Rood (eds.), *Studies in Language Companion Series*, vol. 72, 379–397. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- de Haan, Ferdinand. 2013. Coding of Evidentiality. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.  
<http://wals.info/chapter/78> (accessed 29 April, 2015).
- Degand, Liesbeth. 2016. Discourse Relational Devices in TextLink: From (categorical) description to corpus annotation, and back again. Paper presented at the Discourse Relational Devices (LPTS2016), Univesitat de Valencia.  
[http://lpts2016.blogs.uv.es/files/2016/02/LPTS2016\\_Degand.pdf](http://lpts2016.blogs.uv.es/files/2016/02/LPTS2016_Degand.pdf) (accessed 23 April, 2016).
- Delancey, Scott. 1997. Mirativity: The grammatical marking of unexpected information. *Linguistic Typology* 1(1).
- Delancey, Scott. 2001. The Mirative and Evidentiality. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33. 369–82.
- Dendale, Patrick & Liliane Tasmowski. 2001. Introduction: evidentiality and related notions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3). (Evidentiality Evidentiality). 339–348.
- Dickinson, C. 2000. Mirativity in Tsafiki. *Studies in Language* 24(2). 379–422.
- Dickinson, Connie. 1999. *Semantic and pragmatic dimensions of Tsafiki evidential and mirative markers*. *CLS 35, The Panels: 29-44*. Chicago: CLS.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2011. Grammaticalizing the Knower in Tsafiki. Paper presented at the Workshop on Conjunct/Disjunct Alignment., Linguistic Society of America Summer Linguistics Institute, University of Colorado Boulder.
- Dickinson, Connie. 2016. Egophoricity and the coding of territory of information in Tsafiki. Stockholm University.
- Dickinson, Connie & Pieter C. Muysken. Forthcoming. Ecuadorean Quechua (Quichua), Barbacoan, and Jivaroan.
- Dijk, Teun A. van. 2010. *Discourse and Context: A Sociocognitive Approach*. Cambridge; New York: CUP.
- Du Bois, John W. 2007. The stance triangle. In Robert Englebretson (ed.), *Stancetaking in discourse: subjectivity, evaluation, interaction*, vol. 164, 139–182. (Pragmatics & Beyond New Series). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Engdahl, Elisabet & Enric Vallduví. 1996. Information packaging in HPSG. *Edinburgh Working Papers in Cognitive Science* 12. 1–32.
- Erteschik-Shir, Nomi. 2007. *Information Structure. The Syntax-Discourse Interface*. (Oxford Surveys in Syntax and Morphology). Oxford: OUP.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2005. View with a view: Towards a typology of multiple perspective constructions. *Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 31(1). 93–120.
- Evans, Nicholas. 2016. The typological dimensions of engagement. Stockholm University.



- Evans, Nicholas, Stephen C. Levinson & N. J. Enfield. 2004. Reciprocal constructions and situation type. In Asifa Majid (ed.), *Field Manual*, vol. 9, 25–30. Nijmegen: Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics.
- Evans, Vyvyan & Melanie Green. 2006. *Cognitive Linguistics: An Introduction*. Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge.
- Faller, Martina. 2007. The Ingredients of Reciprocity in Cuzco Quechua. *Journal of Semantics* 24(3). 255–288.
- Faller, Martina. 2012. Evidential scalar implicatures. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 35(4). 285–312.
- Faller, Martina T. 2002. Semantics and Pragmatics of Evidentials in Cuzco Quechua. Stanford University. PhD Thesis.
- Faller, Martina T. 2006. Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality at the Semantics/Pragmatics Interface. University of Michigan. <http://web.eecs.umich.edu/~rthomaso/lpw06/fallerpaper.pdf> (accessed 21 April, 2016).
- Faller, Martina T. 2007. The Cuzco Quechua Conjectural. Epistemic modal or evidential? Or both? Universidade de Sao Paulo—USP.
- Faller, Martina T. 2014. Do speech act evidentials embed after all? Paper presented at the Workshop on the Semantics of Embedding and the Syntax of the Left Periphery, LAGB, Oxford.
- Féry, Caroline & Manfred Krifka. 2008. Information structure: Notional distinctions, ways of expression. In Piet van Sterkenburg (ed.), *Unity and Diversity of Languages*, 123–135. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fetzer, Anita & Etsuko Oishi. 2014. Evidentiality in discourse. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 11(3). 321–332.
- Fillmore, Charles. 1982. Frame Semantics. In Linguistic Society of Korea (ed.), *Linguistics in the Morning Calm*, 111–138. Seoul: Hanshin Publishing Co.
- Floyd, Rick. 1997. *La estructura categorial de los evidenciales en el quechua wanka*. (Serie Linguistica Peruana). Lima: SIL International.
- Floyd, Simeon. 2011. Re-discovering the Quechua adjective. *Linguistic Typology* 15(1). 25–63.
- Floyd, Simeon, Elisabeth Norcliffe & Lila San Roque (eds.). 2016. *Egophoricity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fodor, Janet Dean. 1970. Three Reasons for Not Deriving “Kill” from “Cause to Die.” *Linguistic Inquiry* 1(4). 429–438.
- Frascarelli, Mara. 2007. Subjects, topics and the interpretation of referential pro. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 25(4). 691–734.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1990. Special Issue: “Selected papers from The International Pragmatics Conference, Antwerp, 17–22 August, 1987” An approach to discourse markers. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14(3). 383–398.
- Fraser, Bruce. 1996. Pragmatic Markers. *Pragmatics* 6(2).
- Fraser, Bruce. 2009. An Account of Discourse Markers. *International Review of Pragmatics* 1(2). 293–320.
- Fussell, Diana & Ane Haaland. 1978. Communicating with Pictures in Nepal: Results of Practical Study Used in Visual Education. *Educational Broadcasting International* 11(1). 25–31.
- Garrett, Edward. 2001. Evidentiality and assertion in Tibetan. Los Angeles: UCLA. PhD Thesis.
- Gast, Volker. 2016. Doing corpus-based typology: Concessivity in a cross-linguistic perspective. Valencia.

- Gawne, Lauren. forthcoming. Egophoricity in Tibetan languages. In Lauren Gawne & Nathan Hill (eds.), *Evidentiality in Tibetan languages*.
- Gipper, Sonja. 2011. *Evidentiality and Intersubjectivity in Yurakaré: an Interactional Account*. Nijmegen: MPI.
- Givón, T. 1981. Typology and Functional Domains. *Studies in Language* 5(2). 163–193.
- Givón, T. 1982. Evidentiality and Epistemic Space. *Studies in Language* 6(1). 23–49. doi:10.1075/sl.6.1.03giv (4 May, 2015).
- Grzech, Karolina. 2016. The marker =ga and topicality in Tena Kichwa. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics* 18. 31–50.
- Güldemann, Tom. 2008. *Quotative Indexes in African Languages, A Synchronic and Diachronic Survey*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. 1999. On different kinds of focus. In Peter Bosch & Rob van der Sandt (eds.), *Focus: Linguistic, Cognitive, and Computational Perspectives*, 293–305. Cambridge: CUP.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. & Thorstein Fretheim. 2004. Topic and Focus. In Laurence R. Horn & Gregory L. Ward (eds.), *The handbook of pragmatics*, 174–196. (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics). Malden, MA ; Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gutzmann, Daniel & Elena Castroviejo Miró. 2011. The Dimensions of Verum. In Oliver Bonami & Patricia Cabredo Hofherr (eds.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics* 8, 143–165.
- Haan, Ferdinand de. 1999. Evidentiality and Epistemic Modality: Setting Boundaries. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 18. 83–101.
- Haiman, John. 1978. Conditionals Are Topics. *Language* 54(3). 564.
- Halliday, Michael Alexander Kirkwood & Ruqaiya Hasan. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Hanks, William F. 2012. Evidentiality in social interaction. *Pragmatics and Society* 3(2). 169–180.
- Hargreaves, David. 2005a. Agency and Intentional Action in Kathmandu Newar. *Himalayan Linguistics* 5. 1–48.
- Hargreaves, David. 2005b. Agency and Intentional Action in Kathmandu Newar. *Himalayan Linguistics* 5. 1–48.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2007. Coordination. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume II: Complex Constructions*, 1–51. Second. Cambridge: CUP.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2012. How to compare major word-classes across the world's languages. In T. Graf, D. Paperno, A. Szabolcsi & J. Tellings (eds.), *Theories of Everything: In Honor of Ed Keenan*, 109–130. Los Angeles: Department of Linguistics, University of California.
- Haspelmath, Martin. 2013. Indefinite Pronouns. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/46> (accessed 31 January, 2017).
- Haspelmath, Martin & Thomas Müller-Bardey. 2005. Valence change. In Geert Booij, C. Lehmann & J Mugdan (eds.), *HSK-Morphology. A Handbook on Inflection and Word Formation*. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Hastings, Rachel. 2003. The semantics of discontinuous noun phrases in Quechua. In Jan Andersen, Paula Menéndez-Benito & Adam Werle (eds.), *Proceedings of SULA II: The UBC Meeting*, vol. 28, 35–55. (University of Massachusetts Occasional Papers in Linguistics,). MA: Amherst.

- Hayano, Kaoru. 2011. Claiming epistemic primacy: yo-marked assessments in Japanese. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada & Jacob Steensig (eds.), *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Hengevald, Kees. 1991. Questionnaire: The Internal Structure of Adverbial Clauses. University of Amsterdam. [https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/pdf/ET\\_5\\_4\\_Hengeveld\\_IS\\_QUEST.pdf](https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/tools-at-lingboard/pdf/ET_5_4_Hengeveld_IS_QUEST.pdf) (accessed 13 May, 2014).
- Heritage, John & Geoffrey Raymond. 2005. The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 68(1). 15–38.
- Himmelman, Nicolaus P. 2006. Language documentation: What is it and what is it good for? In Nicolaus P. Himmelman, Jost Gippert & Ulrike Mosel (eds.), *Essentials of Language Documentation*, 1–30. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Himmelman, Nikolaus P. 1998. Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics* 36(1). 161–96.
- Hintz, Daniel J. 2012. Building common ground: The evidential category of mutual knowledge. Paper presented at the Nature of Evidentiality Conference, Leiden.
- Hintz, Daniel J. & Diane M. Hintz. 2014. The evidential category of mutual knowledge in Quechua. *Lingua*. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2014.07.014.
- Hintz, Diane. 2012. The evidential system in Sihuas Quechua: personal vs. shared knowledge. Paper presented at the Nature of Evidentiality Conference, Leiden.
- Höhle, Tilman. 1992. Über Verum-Fokus im Deutschen. In Joachim Jacobs (ed.), *Informationsstruktur und Grammatik*, 112–141. (Linguistische Berichte Sonderheft 4). Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Hooper, Joan B. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1973. On the Applicability of Root Transformations. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4(4). 465–497.
- Hornberger, Nancy H. & Kendall A. King. 1996. Language Revitalisation in the Andes: Can the Schools Reverse Language Shift? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(6). 427–441.
- Hornborg, Alf & Jonathan D. Hill (eds.). 2011. *Ethnicity in ancient Amazonia: Reconstructing past identities from archeology, linguistics, and ethnohistory*. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press.
- Howard, Rosaleen. 2012. Shifting voices, shifting worlds: Evidentiality, epistemic modality and speaker perspective in Quechua oral narrative. *Pragmatics and Society* 3(2). 243–269.
- Howard, Rosaleen. 2013. *Kawsay Vida: a Quechua course for beginners and beyond: course book and interactive multimedia dvd*. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Hymes, Dell. 1964. Introduction: Toward Ethnographies of Communication. *American Anthropologist* 66(6). 1–34.
- Hymes, Dell. 1976. *Foundations in sociolinguistics: an ethnographic approach*. (Conduct and Communication Series). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ifantidou, Elly. 2001. *Evidentials and Relevance*. Philadelphia, PA, USA: John Benjamins.
- Itier, César. 2011. What was the Lengua General of colonial Peru? In Adrian J. Pearce & Paul Heggarty (eds.), *History and Language in the Andes*, 63–86. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Jacobsen, William H. Jr. 1986. The Heterogeneity of Evidentials in Makah. In Wallace Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*, 3–28. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Jake, Janice Lynn. 1985. *Grammatical relations in Imbabura Quechua*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Jalava, Lotta & Erika Sandman. 2012. The E-categories: Defining evidentiality in relation to egophoricity and epistemic modality. Leiden, Netherlands.
- Kamio, Akio. 1997. *Territory of Information*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kärkkäinen, Elise. 2003. *Epistemic stance in English conversation: a description of its interactional functions, with a focus on I think*. (Pragmatics & beyond N.S., 115). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kempson, Ruth M. 1975. *Presupposition and the Delimitation of Semantics*. CUP.
- King, Kendall A. 2001. *Language Revitalization Processes and Prospects: Quichua in the Ecuadorian Andes*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Kiss, K. E. 1998. Identificational Focus versus Information Focus. *Language* 74(2). 245–273.
- Knuchel, Dominique. 2016. An exploratory survey of undergoers and “peripheral participants” in egophoricity systems. Stockholm University.
- Koenig, Ekkehard & Peter Siemund. 2007. Speech act distinctions in grammar. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume I: Clause Structure*, 276–324. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. CUP.
- Kratochvíl, František. 2011. Discourse-structuring functions of Abui demonstratives. In Foong Ha Yap, Karen Grunow-Hårsta & Janick Wrona (eds.), *Typological Studies in Language*, vol. 96, 757–788. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Krifka, Manfred. 1999. Additive particles under stress. In Devon Strolovitch & Aaron Lawson (eds.), *Proceedings of Semantics and Linguistic Theory (SALT)*, vol. 8, 111–128. Cornell University: CLC Publications.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2007. Basic notions of information structure. In Caroline Féry, Gisbert Fanselow & Manfred Krifka (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure (ISIS)*, vol. 6, 13–56. Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Krifka, Manfred. 2013. Embedding Speech Acts: Why, and How. Department of Philosophy, University of Wellington, Victoria, NZ. [http://amor.cms.hu-berlin.de/~h2816i3x/Talks/EmbeddingSpeechActs\\_Wellington.pdf](http://amor.cms.hu-berlin.de/~h2816i3x/Talks/EmbeddingSpeechActs_Wellington.pdf) (accessed 25 April, 2016).
- Krifka, Manfred. 2014. Embedding Illocutionary Acts. In Thomas Roeper & Margaret Speas (eds.), *Recursion: Complexity in Cognition*, 59–88. Springer.
- Kroeger, Paul R. 2005. *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lambrecht, Knud. 1994. *Information Structure and Sentence Form: Topic, Focus, and the Mental Representations of Discourse Referents*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Landaburu, Jon. 2007. La modalisation du savoir en langue andoke (Amazonie Colombienne). *L’Enonciation Médiatisée*. Paris: Peeters. 23–48.
- Lefebvre, Claire & Pieter Muysken. 1988. *Mixed categories: nominalizations in Quechua*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Lenk, Uta. 1997. Discourse markers. In Jef Verschueren, Jan-Ola Östman, Jan Blommaert & Chris Bulcaen (eds.), *Handbook of Pragmatics*, 1–17. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Levinsohn, Stephen H. 1975. Functional Sentence Perspective in Inga. *Journal of Linguistics* 11(1). 13–37.
- Levinson, Stephen C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. CUP.

- Lewis M., Paul (ed.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 18th ed. Dallas, Tex: SIL International. <http://www.ethnologue.com/> (accessed 09/12/2014).
- Li, Charles N. & Sandra A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and Topic: A New Typology of Language. In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*, 457–90. New York, San Francisco, London: Academic Press.
- Lohnstein, Horst. 2016. Verum Focus. In Caroline Féry & Shinichiro Ishihara (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Information Structure*, 290–313. Oxford: OUP.
- Lüpke, Friederike. 2009. Data collection methods for field-based language documentation. *Language Documentation and Description* 6. 53–100.
- Lyons, John. 1982. Deixis and subjectivity: Loquor ergo sum? In R. J. Jarvella & Wolfgang Klein (eds.), *Speech, place, and action: studies of deixis and related topics*, 101–24. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Lyons, John. 1995. *Linguistic Semantics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Manley, Marilyn. 2015. Multidimensional Markers of Evidential, Epistemic and Mirative Stance in Cuzco Quechua. In Marilyn Manley & Antje Muntendam (eds.), *Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis*, vol. 11, 145–207. (Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas). Leiden: Brill.
- Manley, Marilyn, Antje Muntendam & Susan E. Kalt. 2015. Introduction. In Marilyn Manley & Antje Muntendam (eds.), *Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis*, 1–24. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.
- Mannheim, Bruce. 1991. *The Language of the Inca since the European Invasion*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Maschler, Yael. 2012. Emergent projecting constructions: The case of Hebrew “yada” (“know”). *Studies in Language* 36(4). 785–847.
- Maschler, Yael & Deborah Schiffrin. 2015. Discourse markers: Language, meaning, and context. In Deborah Tannen, Heidi Ehernberger Hamilton & Deborah Schiffrin (eds.), *The handbook of discourse analysis*, 189–221. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Matić, Dejan. 2015. Discourse expectations and common ground. Paper presented at the Workshop on Information Structure in Endangered Languages, SOAS, University of London.
- Matić, Dejan & Irina Nikolaeva. 2014. Realis mood, focus, and existential closure in Tundra Yukaghir. *Lingua* 150. 202–231. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2014.07.016.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2004. On the methodology of semantic fieldwork. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 70(4). 369–415.
- Matthewson, Lisa. 2011. On apparently non-modal evidentials. In Oliver Bonami & Patricia Cabredo Hofherr (eds.), *Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics*, vol. 8, 333–358.
- Matthewson, Lisa, Henry Davis & Hotze Rullman. 2006. Evidentials as epistemic modals: Evidence from St’át’imcets. <http://semanticsarchive.net/Archive/DlhZTdkZ/Evidentials%20as%20epistemic%20modals.pdf> (accessed 22 April, 2016).
- Mayer, Mercer & Marianna Mayer. 1992. *One Frog Too Many*. New York: Dial Press.
- Merin, Arthur & Irina Nikolaeva. 2008. Exclamative as an Universal Speech Act Category: a case study in decision-theoretic semantics and typological implications. Online Semantics Archive. <http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/22417/> (accessed 3 January, 2016).
- Michael, Lev David. 2008. *Nanti Evidential Practice: Language, Knowledge, and Social Action in an Amazonian Society*. Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest.

- Miller, Philip H. 1992. *Clitics and Constituents in Phrase Structure Grammar*. Philip Miller.
- Minority Rights Group International. 2014. World Directory of Minorities and Indigenous Peoples - Ecuador : Overview.  
<http://www.refworld.org/docid/4954ce3223.html> (accessed 31 January, 2015).
- Molnár, Valéria. 2006. On different kinds of contrast. In Valéria Molnár & Susanne Winkler (eds.), *Architecture of Focus*, 197–233. (Studies in Generative Grammar). Muenchen: Walter de Gruyter.
- Moseley, Christopher. 2010. *Atlas of the World's Languages in danger*. 3rd ed. Paris: UNESCO Publishing. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/> (accessed 11 January, 2015).
- Mueller, Dr Neele. 2013. *Tense, Aspect, Modality, and Evidentiality in South American Indigenous Languages*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Mújica, Camilo & José Miguel Goldáraz. 2010. *Aprendamos Kichwa: gramática y vocabulario napeño*. Quito: Fundación Alejandro Labaka/Cicame.
- Muntendam, A. G. & R. van Rijswijk. 2014. The prosody of focus in the Spanish of Quechua-Spanish-bilinguals: A case study on noun phrases. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18(6). 614–632.
- Muntendam, Antje. 2015. Discourse Deixis in Southern Quechua: A Case Study of Topic and Focus. In Marilyn Manley & Antje Muntendam (eds.), *Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis*, vol. 11, 208–258. (Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas). Leiden: Brill.
- Muratorio, Blanca. 1998. *Rucuyaya Alonso y la historia social y económica del Alto Napo, 1850-1950* /. 2a ed. Quito, Ecuador : Ediciones Abya-Yala,.
- Mushin, Ilana. 2001a. *Evidentiality and epistemological stance: narrative retelling*. (Pragmatics & beyond new ser. 87). Amsterdam ; Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Mushin, Ilana. 2001b. *Evidentiality and Epistemological Stance: Narrative Retelling*. Vol. 87. (Pragmatics & Beyond New Series). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1977. Syntactic developments in the verb phrase of Ecuadorian Quechua. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam.
- Muysken, Pieter. 1995. Focus in Quechua. In Katalin É. Kiss (ed.), *Discourse Configurational Languages*, 375–393. New York: OUP.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2000. Semantic transparency in Lowland Ecuadorian Quechua morphosyntax. *Linguistics* 38(5). 973–988.
- Muysken, Pieter. 2011. Change, Contact, and Ethnogenesis in Northern Quechua: Structural Phylogenetic Approaches To Clause Embedding Predicates. *Ethnicity in ancient Amazonia: Reconstructing past identities from archeology, linguistics, and ethnohistory*, 237–58. Boulder, Colorado: University of Colorado Press.
- Muysken, Pieter C. 2015. From Nominal Predicate to Deictic Clausal Highlighter: The Development of hina “like.” In Marilyn Manley & Antje Muntendam (eds.), *Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis*, vol. 11, 259–286. (Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas). Leiden: Brill.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2000. The semantics of Northern Ostyak Evidentials. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 88. 131–59.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2001. Secondary topic as a relation in information structure. *Linguistics* 39(1). 1–49.
- Nikolaeva, Irina. 2014. *A Grammar of Tundra Nenets*. Mouton De Gruyter.  
<http://www.degruyter.com/view/product/208261> (18 October, 2015).

- Nuckolls, Janis B. 2012. From quotative other to quotative self: Evidential usage in Pastaza Quichua. *Pragmatics and Society* 3(2). 226–242.
- Nuckolls, Janis B. 1993. The Semantics of Certainty in Quechua and Its Implications for a Cultural Epistemology. *Language in Society* 22(2). 235–55.
- Nuckolls, Janis B. 1996. *Sounds Like Life: Sound-Symbolic Grammar, Performance, and Cognition in Pastaza Quechua*. First Edition. OUP, USA.
- Nuckolls, Janis B. & Lev Michael. 2012. Evidentials and evidential strategies in interactional and socio-cultural context. *Pragmatics and Society* 3(2). 181–188.
- Nuyts, Jan. 2001. Subjectivity as an evidential dimension in epistemic modal expressions. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3). (Evidentiality Evidentiality). 383–400.
- O'Rourke, Erin. 2009. Phonetics and phonology of Cuzco Quechua declarative intonation: An instrumental analysis. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 39(3). 291–312.
- O'Rourke, Erin & Tod D. Swanson. 2013. Tena Quichua. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 43(1). 107–120.
- Orr, Carolyn. 1975. Fonología del quichua del Ecuador. In Catherine M. Peeke (ed.), *Estudios fonológicos de lenguas vernáculas del Ecuador*, 68–86. Quito: Ministerio de Educación Pública.
- Orr, Carolyn. 1981. Algunos rasgos característicos del discurso en el quichua de Napo. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos*. 135–175.
- Orr, Carolyn & Betsy Wrisley. 1965. *Vocabulario quichua del Oriente*. (Serie de Vocabularios Indígenas Del Ecuador). Quito: SIL International.
- Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and Modality*. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Palmer, F. R. 2001. *Mood and Modality*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Papafragou, Anna. 2006. Epistemic modality and truth conditions. *Lingua* 116(10). 1688–1702.
- Parker, Gary. 1963. La clasificación genética de los dialectos Quechuas. Lima: *Revista del Museo Nacional* 32. 241–52.
- Parker, Gary John. 1969. *Ayacucho Quechua grammar and dictionary*. The Hague; Paris: Mouton.
- Payne, Thomas E. 1997. *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguists*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Peterson, Tyler. 2010. Epistemic Modality and Evidentiality in Gitksan at the Semantics-Pragmatics Interface. Vancouver: University of British Columbia. PhD Thesis.
- Plag, Ingo. 1992. From Speech Act Verb to Conjunction: The Grammaticalization of Taki in Sranan. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 7(1). 55–73.
- Plungian, Vladimir A. 2001a. The place of evidentiality within the universal grammatical space. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33(3). (Evidentiality). 349–357.
- Pons Bordería, Salvador. 2001. Connectives/Discourse Makers. An Overview. In Hang Ferrer Mora & Salvador Pons Bordería (eds.), *La pragmática de los conectores y las partículas modales*, 219–43. (Quaderns de filologia Estudis lingüístics 6). Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, Facultat de Filologia.
- Portner, Paul. 2004. The Semantics of Imperatives within a Theory of Clause Types. *Proceedings of SALT* 14. 235–252. (accessed 20 May, 2015).
- Portner, Paul. 2006. Comments on Faller's Paper. University of Michigan. [http://faculty.georgetown.edu/portnerp/my\\_papers/Portner\\_Comments\\_on\\_Faller06%20copy.pdf](http://faculty.georgetown.edu/portnerp/my_papers/Portner_Comments_on_Faller06%20copy.pdf) (accessed 17 May, 2015).
- Portner, Paul. 2009. *Modality*. Oxford: OUP.

- Prasad, Rashmi, Eleni Miltsakaki, Nikhil Dinesh, Alan Lee, Aravind Joshi, Livio Robaldo & Bonnie Webber. 2007. The Penn Discourse Treebank 2.0 Annotation Manual. *IRCS Technical Reports Series*.  
[http://repository.upenn.edu/ircs\\_reports/203](http://repository.upenn.edu/ircs_reports/203) (accessed 20/01/2016).
- Prince, Ellen. 1981. Towards a taxonomy of given-new information. In Peter Cole (ed.), *Radical pragmatics*, 223–256. New York: Academic Press.
- Reeve, Mary-Elizabeth. 2014. Amazonian Quichua in the Western Amazon Regional Interaction Sphere. *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 12(1). 14–27.
- Reinhardt, Tanya. 1982. Pragmatics and linguistics: an analysis of sentence topics. *Philosophica* 27. 53–94.
- Repp, Sophie. 2010. Defining “contrast” as an information-structural notion in grammar. *Lingua* 120(6). (Contrast as an Information-Structural Notion in Grammar). 1333–1345.
- Ritz, Marie-Eve & Eva Schultze-Berndt. 2015. Time for a change? The semantics and pragmatics of marking temporal progression in an Australian language. *Lingua* 166, Part A. 1–21. doi:10.1016/j.lingua.2015.07.007.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Romero, Maribel & Chung-Hye Han. 2004. On Negative Yes/No Questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 27(5). 609–658.
- Rosales Sequeiros, Xosé. 2012. *Linguistic meaning and non-truth-conditionality*. (Contemporary Studies in Descriptive Linguistics 32). Oxford ; New York: Peter Lang.
- Sadock, Jerome & Arnold M. Zwicky. 1985. Speech acts distinction in syntax. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume I: Clause Structure*, 156–196. 1<sup>st</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- San Roque, Lila. 2008. *An introduction to Duna grammar*. Australian National University.  
<http://repository.ubn.ru.nl/bitstream/handle/2066/140229/140229.pdf?sequence=1> (accessed 2 May, 2016).
- San Roque, Lila, Lauren Gawne, Darja Hoenigman, Julia Colleen Miller, Alan Rumsey, Stef Spronck, Alice Carroll & Nicholas Evans. 2012. Getting the Story Straight: Language Fieldwork Using a Narrative Problem-Solving Task. <http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/4504> (accessed 14 January, 2013).
- Sánchez, Liliana. 2010. *The Morphology and Syntax of Topic and Focus: Minimalist Inquiries in the Quechua Periphery*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sánchez, Liliana. 2015. Right Peripheral Domains, Deixis and Information Structure in Southern Quechua. In Marilyn Manley & Antje Muntendam (eds.), *Quechua Expressions of Stance and Deixis*, vol. 11, 287–322. (Brill’s Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas). Leiden: Brill.
- Sanders, T. & H. Pander Maat. 2006. Cohesion and Coherence: Linguistic Approaches. *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics*, 591–595. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Sanders, Ted, Merel Scholman & Wilbert Spooren. 2016. Manual for analyzing coherence relations using CCR. University of Valencia.
- Sanders, Ted & Wilbert Spooren. 2001. Text representation as an interface between language and its users. In Ted Sanders, Joost Schilperoord & Wilbert Spooren (eds.), *Text representation: linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects*, 1–24. (Human Cognitive Processing 8). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.



- Sandman, Erika. 2016. Typology of egophoric marking systems of northwest China's Amdo Sprachbund. Stockholm University.
- Saxena, Anju. 1988. The case of the verb "say" in Tibeto-Burman. *Proceedings of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 14. 375–388.
- Sbisà, Marina. 2014. Evidentiality and illocution. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 11(3). 463–83.
- Schachter, Paul & Timothy Shopen. 2007. Parts-of-speech systems. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume I: Clause Structure*, 1–60. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. *Sequence Organization in Interaction: Volume 1: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Schiffrin, Deborah. 1987. *Discourse Markers*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Schultze-Berndt, Eva. 2002. Grammaticalized Restrictives on Adverbials and Secondary Predicates: Evidence From Australian Languages. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 22(2). 231–264.
- Searle, John R. 1969. *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Searle, John R. 1976. A Classification of Illocutionary Acts. *Language in Society* 5(1). 1–23.
- Searle, John R. 1979. Indirect Speech Acts. *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*, 30–57. Cambridge: CUP.
- Seifart, Frank. 2008. On the representativeness of language documentations. (Ed.) Peter K. Austin. *Language Documentaton and Description* 5. 60–76.
- Shopen, Timothy (ed.). 2007. *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume II: Complex Constructions*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. Cambridge: CUP.
- Silva, Wilson & Scott AnderBois. 2016. Fieldwork Game Play: Masterminding Evidentiality in Desano. *Language Documentation & Conservation* 10. 58–76.
- Skopeteas, Stavros, Ines Fiedler, Sam Hellmuth, Anne Schwarz, Ruben Stoel, Gisbert Fanselow, Caroline Féry & Manfred Krifka. 2006. *Questionnaire on information structure (QUIS): refence manual*. (Interdisciplinary Studies on Information Structure 4). Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam.
- Speas, Margaret. 2004. Evidentiality, logophoricity and the syntactic representation of pragmatic features. *Lingua* 114(3). (Focus and the Interaction between Syntax and Pragmatics). 255–276.
- Speas, Peggy & Carol L. Tenny. 2003. Configurational properties of point of view roles. In Anna Maria Di Sciullo (ed.), *Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, vol. 57, 315–344. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Spencer, Andrew & Ana R. Luis. 2012. *Clitics: An Introduction*. Cambridge ; New York: CUP.
- Sperber, Dan & Deirdre Wilson. 1995. *Relevance: Communication and Cognition*. 2nd Ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Stalnaker, Robert. 1974. Pragmatic Presuppositions. In Milton K. Munitz & Peter K. Unger (eds.), *Semantics and Philosophy*, 197–213. New York: New York University Press.
- Stalnaker, Robert & Peter Cole. 1978. Assertion. *Syntax and Semantic*, vol. 9, 315–332. (Pragmatics). New York: Academic Press.
- Stevanovic, Melisa & Anssi Peräkylä. 2012. Deontic Authority in Interaction: The Right to Announce, Propose, and Decide. *Research on Language & Social Interaction* 45(3). 297–321.

- Stivers, Tanya, Lorenza Mondada & Jacob Steensig (eds.). 2011a. *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Stivers, Tanya, Lorenza Mondada & Jacob Steensig. 2011b. Knowledge, morality and affiliation in social interaction. In Tanya Stivers, Lorenza Mondada & Jacob Steensig (eds.), *The Morality of Knowledge in Conversation*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Thompson, Sandra A., Robert E. Longacre & Shin Ja J. Hwang. 2007. Adverbial clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Volume II: Complex Constructions*, 237–300. Second. Cambridge: CUP.
- Torero, Alfredo. 1964. Los dialectos quechuas. *Anales Científicos de la Universidad Nacional Agraria, Lima*. 446–78.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995a. Subjectification in grammaticalisation. In Dieter Stein & Susan Wright (eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation*, 31–54. Cambridge: CUP.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1995b. The role of the development of discourse markers in a theory of grammaticalization. Manchester.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2003. From subjectification to intersubjectification. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Motives for Language Change*, 124–139. Cambridge: CUP.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2010. (Inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification: A reassessment. In Kristin Davidse, Lieven Vandelanotte & Hubert Cuyckens (eds.), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*, vol. 66, 29–74. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2012. Intersubjectification and clause periphery. *English Text Construction* 5(1). 7–28.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs & Richard B. Dasher. 2002. *Regularity in semantic change*. (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 97). Cambridge: CUP.
- Uzendoski, Michael A. 2005. *Los napo runa de la amazonía ecuaatoriana*. Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala.
- Uzendoski, Michael & Edith Felicia Calapucha-Tapuy. 2012. *The Ecology of the Spoken Word: Amazonian Storytelling and the Shamanism among the Napo Runa*. 1st Edition edition. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Uzendoski, Michael & Norman E. Whitten, Jr. 2014. From “Acculturated Indians” to “Dynamic Quichua-Speaking Peoples.” *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 12(1). 1–12.
- Vallduví, Enric & Maria Vilkuña. 1998. On rheme and kontrast. In Peter W. Culicover & Louise McNally (eds.), *The limits of syntax*, 79–108. (Syntax and Semantics v. 29). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Visconti, Jacqueline. 2016. Cross-linguistic variation of Discourse Relational Devices. University of Valencia.
- Wackernagel, Jacob. 1892. Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung. *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1. 333–436.
- Weber, David. 1986. Information perspective, profile, and patterns in Quechua. In Wallace Chafe & Johanna Nichols (eds.), *Evidentiality: the linguistic coding of epistemology*, 137–55. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Weber, David J. 1996. *Una gramática del quechua del Huallaga (Huánuco)*. Vol. 40. (Serie Lingüística Peruana). Lima: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

- Weber, David John. 1989. *A Grammar of Huallaga (Huanuco) Quechua*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Widdowson, H. G. 2004. *Text, context, pretext: critical issues in discourse analysis*. (Language in Society 35). Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.
- Willett, Thomas. 1988. A Cross-Linguistic Survey of the Grammaticization of Evidentiality. *Studies in Language* 12(1). 51–97.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 2003. Defining documentary linguistics. *Language Documentation and Description* 1. 35–51.
- Woodbury, Anthony C. 2014. Archives and audiences: Toward making endangered language documentations people can read, use, understand, and admire. (Ed.) David Nathan & Peter K. Austin. *Language Documentation and Description* 12(Special Issue on Language Documentation and Archiving). 19–36.
- Woods, Rebecca. 2016. The syntax of speech acts: embedding illocutionary force. York, UK: University of York. PhD Thesis.
- Wroblewski, Michael. 2014. Public Indigeneity, Language Revitalization, and Intercultural Planning in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant: Public Indigeneity in a Native Amazonian Beauty Pageant. *American Anthropologist* 116(1). 65–80. doi:10.1111/aman.12067 (31 July, 2014).
- ve in Kakataibo (Panoan, Peru). *STUF - Language Typology and Universals* 68(2).
- Zimmermann, Malte. 2008. Contrastive focus and emphasis. *Acta Linguistica Hungarica* 55(3–4). 347–360. doi:10.1556/ALing.55.2008.3-4.9.
- Zimmermann, Malte & Edgar Onea. 2011. Focus marking and focus interpretation. *Lingua* 121(11). (Focus Marking Strategies and Focus Interpretation). 1651–1670.
- Zufferey, Sandrine & Liesbeth Degand. 2013. Annotating the meaning of discourse connectives in multilingual corpora. *Corpus Linguistics and Linguistic Theory* 0(0). 1–24. doi:10.1515/cllt-2013-0022.
- Zwicky, A. & G. Pullum. 1983. Cliticisation vs. inflection: English n't. *Language* 59. 502–13.
- Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. On Clitics. [http://web.stanford.edu/~zwicky/on\\_clitics.pdf](http://web.stanford.edu/~zwicky/on_clitics.pdf) (accessed 01/02/2015).

## Appendix 1 TK conversation (el\_25092014\_01)

This appendix contains a transcription of a five-minute conversation between two speakers, nian1 and jach1. Both are male, native speakers of TK, bilingual in Spanish, and were respectively 29 and 34 years old at the moment of the recording. The topic of the conversation is the Pear Story video (Chafe 1980), which the participants are watching as they speak. While nian1 has seen it about 10 times already, jach1 has just finished watching it for the first time seconds before this conversation started. The code of the speaker and reference number for each utterance are given in the line below the translation. The turns in which I participate in the conversation have been excluded from this transcript. The audio and video recordings of the conversation are available in the TK deposit in the ELAN archive, in the bundle ‘el\_25092014\_01’.

(1)

*Tutuwkuyma payga kunga pasakta pitishayan...*  
tutu -uku -pi =ma pay =ga kunga pasa -k -ta piti - shaya-n  
covered-below-LOC=ma 3SG=ga neck pass -AG.NMLZ-ACC cut - stand -3  
‘Inside the thicket, with the neck sticking out, [he] stands and cuts...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 01

(2)

*Mana rikunima...*  
mana riku -ni=ma  
NEG see -1 =ma  
‘I don’t see...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 02

(3)

*Undachishka washama pay chara... payga...*  
undachi -shka washa=ma pay chara pay =ga  
fill -ANT after =ma 3SG still 3SG =ga  
‘After filling [the basket] he still...he...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 03

(4)

*Imara... imara rikungui, chi shu muyura...?*  
ima -ta ima -ta riku -ngui chi shu muyu-ta  
what -INT what-INT see -2 D.DEM one fruit -ACC

‘What...what do you see, this fruit (what fruit is it)?’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 04

(5)

*Coco muyu asha, pitiwn chita (...) pasan*  
coco muyu a -sha piti-w -n chi-ta (...) pasa-n  
coconut fruit COP-COR cut-PROG-3 D.DEM-ACC (...) pass-3

*ña awara pay kungay watashka...*  
ña awa -ta pay kunga -pi wata-shka  
well high -ACC 3SG neck -LOC tie -ANT

‘It is a coconut, [he] cuts that ( ...), goes up already having tied [the scarf] around his neck...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 05

(6)

*Chi shamuwta mana rikun, may... maykanday*  
chi shamu-w -ta mana riku-n may maykan=ta=y  
D.DEM come -PROG-ACC NEG see -3 where which=INT=EMPH.INT

*chiga chiga...*  
chi =ga chi =ga  
D.DEM=ga D.DEM=ga

‘[He] doesn't see the one who's coming, where...which one...this...this [man]...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 06

(7)

*Chiga shukma, chi shu runama shamuw chimanda...*  
chi =ga shu=ma chi shu runa=ma shamu-w chi -manda  
D.DEM=ga one=ma D.DEM one man=ma come -PROG D.DEM-ABL

‘This is another one, another man is coming from there...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 07

(8)

*Chi chita apangawa...?*  
chi chi -ta apa -nga -wa  
D.DEM D.DEM -ACC take-FUT-PURP

‘[Is he coming] to take this [the fruit]?’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 08

(9)

*Mana, yanga pasaw runa...*  
mana yanga pasa-w runa  
NEG nothing pass-PROG man

‘No, it’s [a] man who is just passing by...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 10

(10)

*Burro yachin, ichilla burro.*  
burro yachi-n ichilla burro  
donkey seem-3 small donkey

‘It seems it’s a donkey, a little donkey.’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 11

(11)

*Chi apaya pitiw, payga mana riparaj...*  
chi apaya piti -w pay =ga mana ripara -k  
D.DEM man cut -PROG 3SG=ga NEG realise-AG.NMLZ

‘That guys is cutting [harvesting the fruit], he doesn’t realise...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 17

(12)

*Tutu...*

tutu

covered

‘[He’s] covered [in leaves].....’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 18

(13)

*Panga....pangama tutu ashka, tutu, tutu yura...*

panga panga -ma tutu a -shka tutu tutu yura

leaf leaf -DAT covered COP -ANT covered covered tree

‘The leafs, [he] was covered with leaves, [the] tree is full of leaves...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 19

(14)

*Ajam...*

ajam

INTER

‘Yeah...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 20

(15)

*Kasna wamburian, kasna allpapa<sup>64</sup> rasha chibi.*

kasna wamburia-n kasna allpa-pa ra-sha chi-pi

like.this hang -3 like.this soil -GEN do-COR D.DEM-LOC

‘Hanging like this, doing like this towards the ground, there.’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 21

(16)

*Jujum... shamuw chi wawa, shuwana wawa shamuw.*

ajam shamu-w chi wawa shuwa-na wawa shamu-w

INTER come -PROG D.DEM child steal -INF child come-PROG

‘Yeah, the kid is coming, the kid who will steal is coming.’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 22

(17)

*Payga mana riparanmari...*

pay =ga mana ripara -n =mari

3SG=ga NEG realise-3 =mari

‘As for him [the farmer], he doesn't realise...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 23

<sup>64</sup> The consultant who transcribed the text claimed *allpapa* made no sense, and that the speaker should have uttered *allpama* (ground-DAT).

(18)

*Chigama, chiga ña...*  
chi -gama chi =ga ña  
D.DEM -LAT D.DEM=ga already  
'Until then he [the thief] already...'

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 24

(19)

*Chi awama pitiwta mana rikun pay...*  
chi awa -ma piti -w -ta mana riku-n pay  
D.DEM high -DAT cut -PROG-ACC NEG see-3 3SG  
'He [the thief] isn't looking at the one who's cutting up [there, in the tree]...'

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 25

(20)

*Awa...shinay, awama rikuw, mana mana rikunma allpama, pay*  
awa shinay awa-ma riku-w mana mana riku-n=ma allpa-ma pay  
high yes high-DAT see-PROG NEG NEG see -3=ma soil-DAT 3SG

*chimalla bultiariasha...*  
chi -ma =lla bultiaria-sha  
D.DEM-DAT=LIM be.busy-COR

'Up...yes, [he] he's looking up, he doesn't look to the ground, he's busy just there...'

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 26

(21)

*Pay chima rasha bultiariangama apaya...*  
pay chi -ma ra -sha bultiaria-n-gama apaya  
3SG D.DEM-DAT do -COR be.busy -3-LAT man

'He [the farmer] is working there, by the time he [stops] being busy, the guy (boy) [will have stolen the fruit].'

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 28



(22)

*Rikujilla                    ña        kay        apaya, shu        muyullarami*  
riku-k            =lla    ña        kay        apaya   shu        muyu =lla -ta =mi  
see-AG.NMLZ=LIM already P.DEM man one fruit =LIM-ACC=mi

*punda   shuwasha    nin        chi        washa...*  
punda   shuwa -sha    ni -n        chi        washa  
first    steal -COR    say-3    D.DEM    after

‘Just look, this guy [the boy] first wanted to steal just one [fruit], but then...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 29

(23)

*intirura        apan        jajajaj!*  
intiru -ta    apa -n        hahaha  
all -ACC    take-3        INTER

‘...he took the whole [basket], hahaha!’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 30

(24)

*Shuraylla        churaj...*  
shuray =lla    chura -k  
at.once=LIM    put -AG.NMLZ  
‘[He] puts [it] (on his bike all) at once...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 31

(25)

*Payga        mana        riparajma                    shayan...*  
pay =ga    mana        ripara -k                    =ma        shaya -n  
3SG=ga    NEG        realise-AG.NMLZ=ma        stand -3  
‘As for him, [he/the farmer] stands [there] without realising...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 32

(26)

*Muyus            tali tali   tallisha   tallisha   kallpamuw...*  
muyu=pas      tali tali   talli-sha   talli-sha   kallpa-mu-w  
fruit =ADD     fall fall   spill-COR spill-COR run-CIS-PROG

‘The fruit too...[he] runs, dropping and dropping [them]...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 33

(27)

*Tallisha   tallisha   kallpaw...*  
talli -sha   talli-sha   kallpa -w  
drop-COR spill -COR   run -PROG

‘[He] runs dropping and dropping [the fruit]...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 34

(28)

*Chima            shu, chi       payawa   shamuw...*  
chi   -ma   shu chi       paya-wa   shamu -w  
D.DEM-DAT one D.DEM girl-DIM come -PROG

‘There, another one....that girl is coming...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 35

(29)

*Chima            pay mayanwaram... pasashaga...*  
chi -ma       pay mayan-wa-ta   pasa-sha =ga  
D.DEM-DAT 3SG side-DIM-ACC pass-COR =ga

‘There, as [she] passes right next to him...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 36

(30)

*gorrara       awama       pas,       apashitan...*  
gorra-ta       awa -ma       pas       apa - shita-n  
hat -ACC   high-DAT IDEO take - throw-3

‘...she throws the hat, ‘pas’, into the air...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 37

(31)

*Chima rikusha kallpamuw rumiy.*  
chi -ma riku-sha kallpa -mu-w rumi-pi  
D.DEM -DAT see -COR run -CIS-PROG stone-LOC

‘Watching this, [the boy] runs into a stone.’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 38

(32)

*Sa kachaypasan...*  
sa kacha -y- pasa -n  
all.over.the.place send -COV-pass -3  
‘[He] throws [the fruit] all over the place (‘sa’)...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 39

(33)

*Kayka apaya chaki tullu takarisha sirin...*  
kay =ga apaya chaki tullu taka-ri-sha siri -n  
P.DEM=ga man leg bone crush-ANTIC-COR stay-3  
‘There, the guy sits [there] having broken his ankle...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 40

(34)

*Undachin payllara?*  
undachi-n pay=llara  
fill -3 3SG=ID.REF  
‘Is he filling [the basket] by himself?’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 41

(35)

*Mana, chi... chi purayma mitikusha shayanun shujuna...*  
mana chi chi pura-pi =ma mitiku-sha shaya-nun shu-gun  
NEG D.DEM D.DEM side-LOC=ma hide -COR stand -3PL one -PL  
‘No, there...there to the side others are standing, hiding...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 42

(36)

*yanawkuwama, chi...*

yana -uku -wa -ma chi

dark -below-DIM-DAT D.DEM

‘To the dark [side of the screen], there!’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 43

(37)

*Paynama churanushka chi ru...*

payguna=ma chura -nushka chi rumi -ta

3PL =ma put -3PL.ANT D.DEM stone -ACC

‘They have put the stone [there]!’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 44

(38)

*Payna churanushka, ajam*

payguna chura -nushka ajam

3PL put -3PL.ANT INTER

‘They have put [the stone], uhm...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 47

(39)

*Chi rumira paynami churasha, chapanushka chibi...*

chi rumi -ta payguna=mi chura-sha chapa-nushka chi -pi

D.DEM stone-ACC 3PL =mi put -COR wait-3PL.ANT D.DEM -LOC

‘They’ve waited having put that stone there...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 48

(40)

Urmachisha ña apamuwpi... chokachinga nisha

urma-chi -sha ña apa -mu-kpi choka -chi-nga ni-sha

fall-CAUS-COR already take-CIS-SWREF crush.into-CAUS-FUT say-COR

*churanushka yachin...*

chura-nushka yachi -n

put -3PL.ANT seem -3

‘They made him fall as he was taking [the basket], to make him hit [the stone] they put [it there] it seems...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 50

(41)

*Yanapanun chibi, paynallara undachisha...*

yanapa-nun chi -pi payguna=llara unda-chi-sha

help -3PL D.DEM-LOC 3PL =ID.REF fill-CAUS-COR

‘There, they are helping, they themselves are filling [the basket with fruit]...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 51

(42)

*Paynama churanushka chibi.*

payguna=ma chura-nushka chi -pi

3PL =ma put -3PL.ANT D.DEM-LOC

‘They have put [it] there.’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 54

(43)

*Mana chiga, mana kuyanma, illajma*

mana chi =ga mana kuya -n =ma illa -k =ma

NEG D.DEM=ga NEG give.a.gift-3=ma lack-AG.NMLZ=ma

*rinun, riki...*

ri-nun see

go-3PL see

‘Not here, [he] doesn't give [them a thing], [they] go empty-handed, look!’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 55

(44)

*Chaki angayasha apaya riw...*

chaki angaya-sha apaya ri -w

leg limp -COR man go -PROG

‘The guy [the boy who stole the fruit] goes limping...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 56

(45)

*Ima chi wawawnallarachu chima*

ima chi wawa-guna=llara =chu chi -ma

what D.DEM child -PL=ID.REF=Q/NEG D.DEM-DAT

*tupayrinun o shujkunachu?*

tupa -y- ri -nun o shu -guna =chu

find -COV-go-3PL or one-PL =Q/NEG

‘What, are those the same kids who go to meet [the farmer] over there, or [are those] other ones?’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 57

(46)

*Pay chimanda shamuwka, randi kay...*

pay chi -manda shamu-w -ka randi kay

3SG D.DEM-ABL come -PROG-PST rather P.DEM

‘He...he came from there, but here [them]...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 58

(47)

*chi wawawna chayta riyapun...*

chi wawa-guna chay -ta ri -nun

D.DEM child -PL D.DEM-ACC go-3PL

‘...those kids go over there...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 59

(48)

*Chibicha kuyan...?*

chi -pi =cha kuya -n

D.DEM-LOC=cha give.a.gift-3

‘Does he give [them the fruit] there (now)?’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 60

(49)

*Ari, chi gorrara sakiyrijpimi*

ari chi gorra-ta saki -y- -ri- -kpi =mi

yes D.DEM hat -ACC leave-COV-ANTIC-SWREF=mi

*kuyan ishki... kinsara...*

kuya -n ishki kinsa -ta

give.a.gift -3 two three -ACC

‘Yes, when [he] goes to leave the hat [he] gives two...three [pieces of fruit]...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 61

(50)

*Kinsa muyura kuyasha kachamun.*

kinsa muyu-ta kuya -sha kacha-mu-n

three fruit -ACC give.a.gift-COR send -CIS-3

‘He sends him [the other boy] off giving [him] three pieces of fruit.’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 62

(51)

*Kuna chitami kinsandi apinun*

kuna chi -ta =mi kinsa-ndi api -nun

now D.DEM-ACC=mi three-INCL grab-3PL

*ña muyura mikush... mikusha ringaj nisha...*

ña muyu -ta miku-sha miku-sha ri -ngaj ni -sha

well fruit -ACC eat -COR eat -COR go -PURP say-COR

‘Now between the three [of them] they grab those [fruit], to go eating the fruit...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 63

(52)

*Chi muyura apishacha, pay*  
chi muyu-ta api -sha =cha pay  
D.DEM fruit -ACC grab-COR=cha 3SG

*pitiwshkara mikusha rinun... ?*  
piti -w -shka-ta miku-sha ri -nun  
cut -PROG-ANT-ACC eat -COR go -3PL  
'Taking those fruit, eating what he's cut they go...?'

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 64

(53)

*Shinay, chi chi muyurami payna... pay*  
shinay chi chi muyu-ta =mi payguna pay  
yes D.DEM D.DEM fruit -ACC=mi 3PL 3SG

*pitiwshkallarara pasanga rayanunguti...*  
piti-w -shka=llara -ta pasa-nga ra-ya -nun=guti  
cut-PROG-ANT=ID.REF-ACC pass-FUT do-VZR-3PL=guti  
'That's it, this...this...the fruit, they..with [the fruit ] he has cut, they will pass...'

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 65

(54)

*Chi kunara shi... irguwn duyñu,*  
chi kuna-ta chi irgu -w -n duyñu  
D.DEM now-ACC D.DEM go.down-PROG-3 owner

*pay mana yachan shuwashkara...*  
pay mana yacha-n shuwa-shka-ta  
3SG NEG know -3 steal -ANT-ACC

'Here, now the owner is going down, he doesn't know what's been stolen.'

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 66



(55)

*Chi apaya yupaw..*  
*chi apaya yupa-w*  
 D.DEM man count-PROG  
 ‘[Look], the guys is counting...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 67

(56)

*Chi.... pay chitara<sup>65</sup> yupawgama apaya*  
*chi pay chi -ta -ta yupa-w -gama apaya*  
 D.DEM 3SG D.DEM-ACC-ACC count-PROG-LAT man  
  
*pay mayanllara mikusha pasarianun muyura, riki!*  
*pay mayan=lla -ta miku-sha pasa -ria -nun muyu -ta riki*  
 3SG side =LIM-ACC eat -SS pass -CONT-3PL fruit -ACC see.2SG.IMP  
 ‘By the time he’s done counting they will have already passed by eating, look!’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 68

(57)

*Kariwnallas pacha, apayawna mikushama*  
*kari -guna =lla =pas pacha apaya -guna miku-sha=ma*  
 young.man-PL =LIM=ADD EXCL man -PL eat -SS =ma  
  
*pasarianun...*  
*pasa -ria -nun*  
 pass -CONT -3PL  
 ‘[The] young men, gosh, [the] guys pass by, eating...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 69

(58)

*Sipuma shayan apaya...*  
*sipu =ma shaya -n apaya*  
 wrinkled=ma stand-3 man  
 ‘[The] man stands there, all worried...’

jach1, el\_25092014\_03 71

---

<sup>65</sup> The double ACC marking on this example requires further research.

(59)

*Inay,            shinalla...        mana    rimanmari...*

shinay        shina=lla        mana    rima-n=mari

yes            like.this=LIM   NEG   say-3=mari

‘That’s it, exactly, he doesn’t say a word...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 72

(60)

*Tukuy   mikunushka        nisha        iyan        pay...*

tukuy   miku -nushka        ni -sha        iya -n    pay

all        eat    -3PL.ANT    say -COR        think-3    3SG

‘He thinks they have eaten it all...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 73

(61)

*Payna    rinun    wasira        ichusha        ña...*

payguna   ri -nun    wasi -ta        ichu -sha        ña

3PL        go -3PL    house -ACC    leave -COR        well

‘[And] the boys go home, they leave...’

nian1, el\_25092014\_03 74